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THE 2003 JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT LECTURE

*The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation**

by PAUL F. GRENDLER

European universities had great intellectual and religious influence in the Renaissance and Reformation and exhibited considerable variety. Italian universities taught law and medicine to doctoral students. Their loose organization made it possible for professors to produce original research in law, medicine, philosophy, and the humanities. Northern European universities concentrated on teaching arts to undergraduates, while theology was the most important graduate faculty. Their stronger structure enabled Martin Luther and other professors of theology in German, Dutch, Swiss, and English universities to create and lead the Protestant Reformation. By the early seventeenth century universities everywhere were in decline.

A persistent view holds that Renaissance universities were conservative homes of outmoded knowledge. Professors droned on about Aristotle when they should have been teaching Copernicus and Galileo. Innovative research and religious revolution went on outside the lecture halls. Students came to the university only to get the all-important arts or law degree that would give them entry into the expanding bureaucracies of government, the important areas of life. Once in the university, they spent their time brawling and laying siege to the virtue of the women of the town. So goes a stereotypical judgment on Renaissance universities.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Universities across Europe played extraordinarily significant roles in the Renaissance and the Reformation. They hosted innovative research in many fields and changed forever European religion and society. They were strife-ridden but seldom boring. Universities and their professors may have had greater influence on society in the Renaissance and Reformation than in any era before or since. That influence endures to this day. This lecture explores some of the roles that universities played in the Renaissance and Reformation.

*This is an expanded version of the Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture delivered at the Renaissance Society of America meeting in Toronto, Ont., on 28 March 2003. The most important change is the addition of the appendix documenting the university careers of religious leaders of the Protestant Reformation. For some of the points made in the text, only a small number of references chosen among many sources could be included. I am grateful to professors Christoph Lüthy, James McConica, Charles Nauert, and Erika Rummel for answering questions, and to professors Ann Moyer and Arjo J. Vanderjagt for providing me with hard-to-locate scholarly materials.The following abbreviation is used: *OER* = *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation.* Editor-in-chief Hans J. Hillerbrand. 4 vols. New York, 1996.

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1. The Map of European Universities

Renaissance Europe inherited from the Middle Ages twenty-nine functioning universities in 1400 (see fig. 1). It then created twenty-eight new ones in the fifteenth century, almost doubling the total (see fig. 2). Another eighteen universities appeared between 1500 and 1625, making a total of seventy-three, as two disappeared (see fig. 3). The new universities appeared everywhere, but especially in central Europe. Between 1400 and 1625, Spain added eight, France nine, the present-day Netherlands and Belgium three universities, Switzerland two, Italy seven, and the present-day Germany fourteen. Scotland, which had no medieval universities, now had four. Scandinavia, which lacked universities in the Middle Ages, established the universities of Copenhagen and Uppsala. Only England did not found any new universities in the Renaissance. But both Oxford and Cambridge added several new colleges.

Renaissance rulers and city governments created new universities because they believed that society would benefit from university learning, and because Europeans thirsted for knowledge. On 4 March 1391, Pope Boniface IX issued a bull authorizing the establishment of a university in Ferrara. In grandiloquent language, it explained that a university would produce men of mature advice, crowned and decorated in virtue, and learned in the principles of different subjects. Further, the community would have a flowing fountain to quench the thirst of all who desired lessons in letters and science.[1] Other bulls for other universities echoed such sentiments, sometimes in the same words.[2]

Princes and leaders of city governments believed that scholarly expertise and analysis were needed to resolve difficulties, to create solutions, and to attain desired goals. Humanism was essential to this attitude; its critical perspective and habit of seeking knowledge and inspiration from the ancient world honored and supported scholarly investigation. Men also came to universities in order to acquire the degrees and marketable skills enabling them to secure good positions in society. But the kind of marketable training that universities offered was scholarly analysis, the ability to think carefully and

[1] "Ut viros producant consilii maturitate perspicuos, virtutum, redimitos ornatibus ac diversarum facultatum dogmatibus eruditos, sitque ibi scientiarum fons irriguis de cuius plentitudine havriant universi litterarum cupientes imbui documentis." The text of the bull "In supreme dignitatis" is found in Balboni, 23, and the bull is reproduced on 24 and 25. However, Ferrara did not establish a teaching university offering the range of university subjects at this time. It did in 1442.

[2] The foundation bull for the University of Turin issued by the Avignonese antipope Benedict XIII on 27 November 1405 expressed the same sentiments in almost identical language. The bull is found in Vallauri, 1:239–41; see 240 for the nearly identical passage. The University of Turin did not begin teaching until 1411 to 1413.

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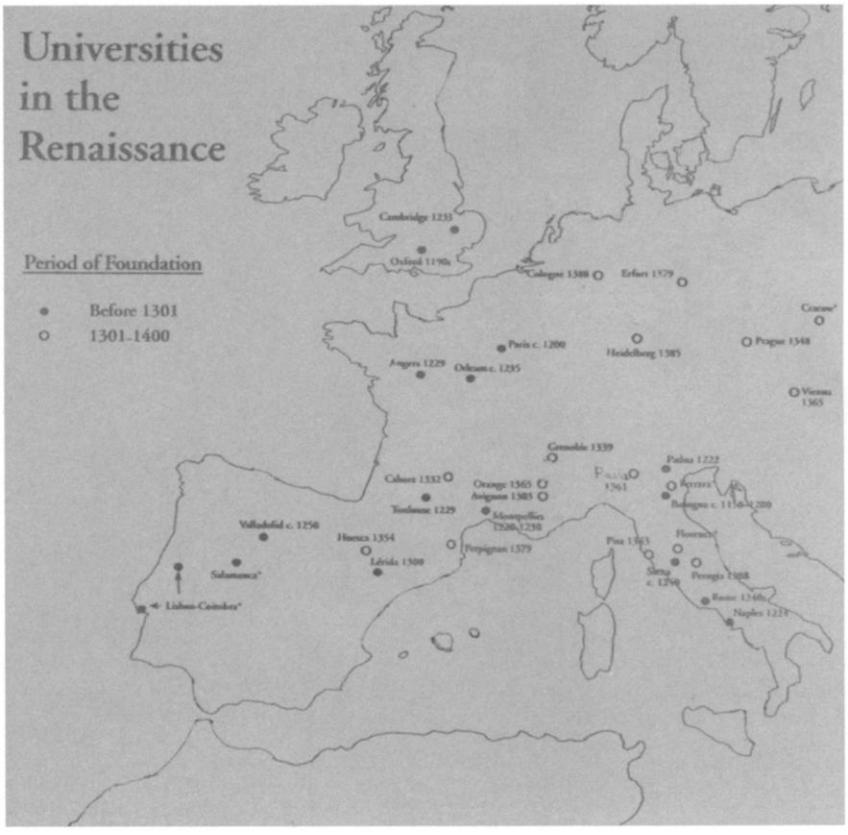

FIGURE 1. Universities in the Renaissance in 1400. Adapted from *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance.* Ed. Paul F. Grendler et al. 6 vols. New York, 1999, 6:190. Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

to apply analytical reason to a problem. This was the deep university fountain that quenched the thirst for learning.

2. Southern and Northern Universities

Southern and northern European universities were very different from each other, although the differences are little understood beyond the circle of historians of universities. Organization, the relative importance of disciplines, the distribution of faculty and students, and the level of instruction largely determined the roles that southern and northern universities played in the Renaissance and Reformation.

All universities had some features in common. Latin was the language of texts, lectures, disputations, and examinations. Professors lectured on the books of Aristotle for logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. They com-

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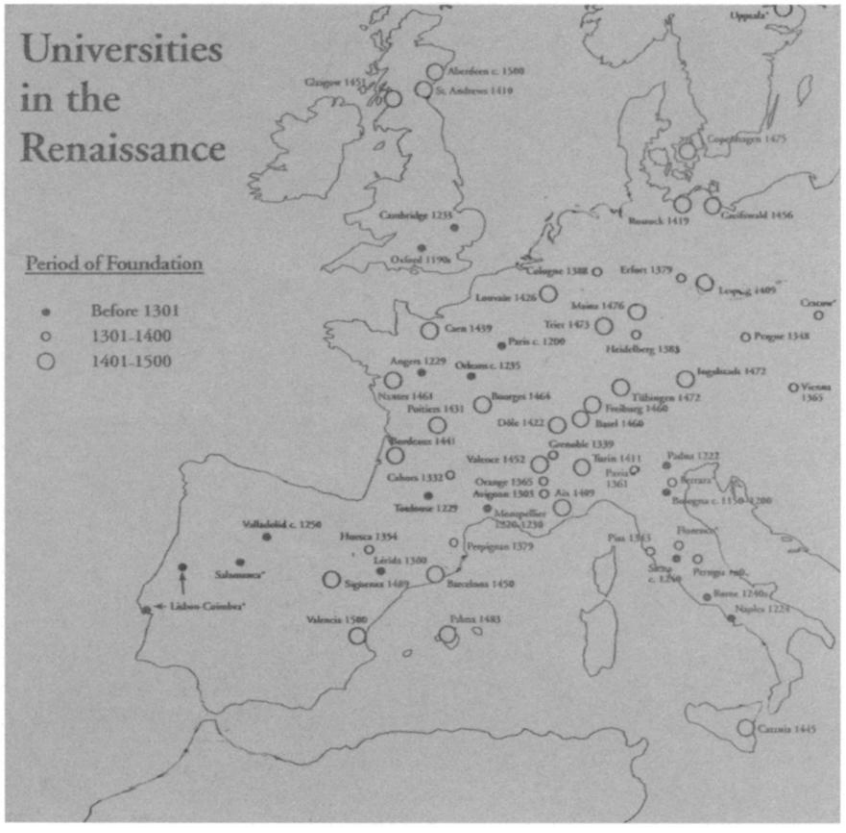

FIGURE 2. Universities in the Renaissance in 1500. Adapted from *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance.* Ed. Paul F. Grendler et al. 6 vols. New York, 1999, 6:190. Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

mented on the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna for medicine. Professors of law made detailed examination of the *Corpus juris civilis* and *Corpus juris canonici.* Theologians lectured on Peter Lombard's *Sententiarum libri quattuor* and the Bible. And once universities welcomed the *studia humanitatis* into the curriculum, arts students heard lectures on Vergil, Cicero, and other ancient Latin and Greek humanistic authors. Students attended lectures on texts required by the statutes for several years before presenting themselves for degree examinations. Despite these common features, great differences separated southern European universities, especially those of Italy, from northern universities, above all, German and English institutions.

Italian universities concentrated on law and medicine, while northern universities concentrated on theology and arts. The University of Bologna, the largest in Italy, had about forty professors of law and fourteen professors

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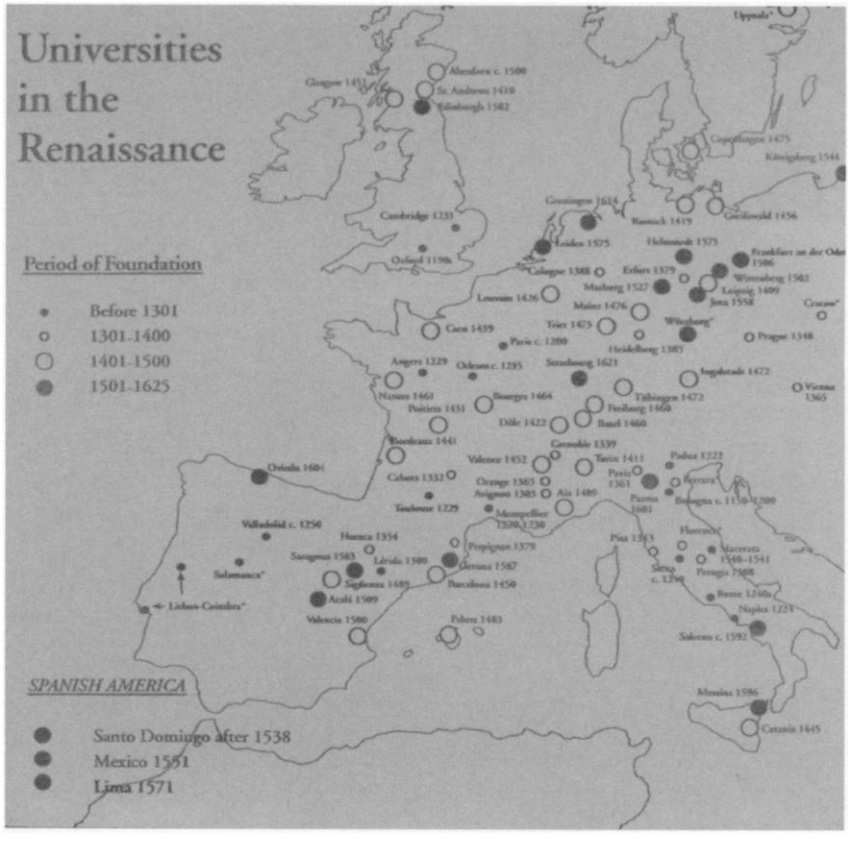

FIGURE 3. Universities in the Renaissance in 1625. Adapted from *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. Ed. Paul F. Grendler et al. 6 vols. New York, 1999, 6:190. Courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

of medicine, plus twenty-one in arts subjects (humanities, logic, philosophy, and mathematics), but no theologians, in the 1470s. This grew to forty-five professors of law, twenty-eight professors of medicine, and twenty-five in arts, and still no theologians, in the 1520s. Even in the last third of the sixteenth century, when the size of its professoriate had declined a little, and the influence of the Council of Trent was evident, Bologna still had thirty professors of law, twenty-one professors of medicine, eighteen professors in other arts subjects, and only one to four theologians.[3] Small Italian universities also concentrated on law and medicine. The University of Naples had a faculty of fifteen professors in the sixteenth century, consisting of eight legists, two professors of medicine, three philosophers, one humanist, and

[3]Grendler, 2002, 8–9 (table), 15, 18.

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one theologian.[4] In short, about seventy-five percent of Italian professors taught law and medicine, another twenty percent taught arts, and five percent, at most, taught theology.

By contrast, northern universities taught little law and medicine. German universities typically had only three or four professors of both law and medicine in the sixteenth century in faculties of twenty and more. This was the case at the universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, and Leiden in the sixteenth century, and Giessen in the early seventeenth.[5] English universities taught even less law and medicine. For example, Oxford had only one or two lecturers in medicine and a single law professor at any given year in the sixteenth century.[6]

Differences in the quality of instruction and research in law and medicine accompanied the disparity in numbers. For example, Italian universities had used public anatomies for teaching purposes since about 1300. By contrast, the first known dissection of a human body at the University of Paris occurred in the late 1470s, and the first known public anatomy at the University of Heidelberg in 1574.[7] Only in 1572 did new statutes of the University of Wittenberg require medical students to examine dissected bodies.[8] And the differences in the quantity and quality of publications

[4]Ibid., 44. See also the University of Catania, which had five legists, one professor of medicine, two philosophers, one humanist, and no theologians in 1485. The University of Macerata had seven or eight professors of law, one professor of medicine, one philosopher, one logician, and one theologian in the late sixteenth century. Ibid., 107, 112.

[5]For example, the revised statutes of 1558 for the University of Heidelberg allowed for four professors of law, three in medicine, three in theology, and five in arts, for a total of fifteen. Maag, 155. This was an average faculty complement for the sixteenth century, as can be seen in the summary lists of professors in Drüll, 569–97. The University of Vienna in 1537 and 1554, the University of Heidelberg in 1591, and the University of Giessen in 1607 all had four professors of law and three of medicine, in faculties of eighteen to twenty-three professors. Freedman, 132–35. The University of Leiden had six professors of law, three in medicine, six in arts, and two in theology in 1590. Maag, 177–78.

One caution is in order. It is often difficult to determine the number of arts teachers in German and English universities, because many did not have specific appointments. Some were advanced students, often clergymen in training, who had obtained bachelor's or master's degrees and then taught for a short period while they pursued advanced degrees, especially in theology. English universities had a regent system, in which MA students were required to teach for a year or two upon completion of the MA degree, unless they bought their way out of the requirement, as many did. The regent system was declining in the sixteenth century. The overall point is clear: there was a considerable amount of arts teaching and many teachers, but not at an advanced level.

[6]For medicine at Oxford, see Lewis. For law, see Barton.

[7]For Paris, Alston, 230–31; and Park, 1995, 114–15, n. 16. For Heidelberg, see Nutton, 96.

[8]*Urkundenbuch,* 382. Since nothing was said about a public anatomy, it is not clear how students would have bodies to study.

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in medicine produced by Italian professors of medicine, and northern European professors of medicine, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were equally great. The disparity in law was much the same. Beginning with Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313–57) and Baldo degli Ubaldi (1327?–1400), generation after generation of famous Italian legists taught in Italian universities. They filled huge tomes with their treatises and left tens, possibly hundreds of thousands of *consilia,* advisory opinions on cases undertaken by others. Italian universities conferred more doctorates of law, either *in utroque iure* (in both laws), civil law alone, or canon law alone, than all other degrees combined.[9] By contrast, Oxford lacked famous professors of law.[10] Instead, young men with bachelors' degrees who lectured, sometimes irregularly, as part of the requirements for the doctoral degree delivered most of the instruction. Oxford conferred only a handful of law and medicine doctorates in the sixteenth century. In short, Italian universities had in abundance what most northern universities lacked: a large cadre of scholars of medicine and law, many of them distinguished or at least convinced that they were distinguished, who taught and advanced their careers by research and publication.

German and English universities emphasized arts and theology. A majority of the professors in German universities taught arts, which included the humanities, logic, and philosophy, but not medicine. Arts and theology professors together typically comprised two-thirds of the professoriate.[11] For example, the University of Wittenberg had twenty-one teachers in arts, eight for canon and civil law, three in medicine, and five in theology in 1507. Most of the arts instructors were not professors holding advanced degrees,

[9] For example, at the University of Siena seventy-seven percent of the degrees awarded were in law, seventeen percent in arts (mostly medicine), and six percent were in theology, between 1484 and 1579. At the University of Pisa seventy percent of the degrees awarded were in law, nineteen percent were in arts (mostly medicine), and eleven percent in theology between 1543 and 1600. It should be noted that the number of theology degrees rose sharply in the last thirty years of the century. At the University of Macerata, the figures were seventy-five percent law degrees, eight percent arts degrees, and seventeen percent theology degrees, between 1541 and 1600. Macerata, founded in 1540–41, conferred more theology degrees than expected because it did not confer many degrees until the last thirty years of the century, when theology doctorates were far more numerous than in earlier decades. Grendler, 2002, 50, 76, 116.

[10] The only professor of law (civil law) of any distinction at Oxford in the sixteenth century was Alberico Gentili (1522–1608), an Italian Protestant refugee, who held a regius professorship of law from 1587 until his death. He did not always lecture regularly, and he lived in London in his last years. However, he did publish extensively. A practitioner of humanistic jurisprudence, he published his most famous work, *De iure belli,* in three parts between 1589 and 1598. Barton, 261, 265–66, 289–93.

[11] Freedman, 132–35.

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but students studying for advanced degrees, often in theology. In 1536, the University of Wittenberg had four professors of theology, three in medicine, four in law, and eleven in arts, of whom many were advanced students.[12]

The distribution of students by discipline paralleled the distribution of professors. It is likely that fifty to sixty percent of the students at Italian universities studied law, thirty to forty percent studied arts (which included medicine), and less than ten percent studied theology in the sixteenth century.[13] By contrast, eighty percent of the students in German universities in the period 1348 to 1506 were in arts, studying for bachelor's degrees. Ten to fifteen percent studied law, mostly canon law. Three to nine percent studied theology, and one or two percent studied medicine.[14]

Although the percentage of the student body studying theology was similar in Italian and German universities, the position of theology was very different. Professors and students of theology were central to the educational mission and influential in German universities, but marginal and lacking influence in Italian universities. Theology was the major graduate study in German universities. Its professors and students lived physically and intellectually in the center of the university. But Italian students of theology lived and heard most lectures in local monasteries of the medieval orders, where their professors — mostly Dominicans and Franciscans — lived and taught. Theology was mostly "off campus," physically and intellectually.

[12] *Urkundenbuch,* 14–17, 167–69; Schwiebert, 1950, 256–57.

[13] These figures can only be estimates for several reasons. Matriculation records for Italian universities do not survive for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nor can one estimate the distribution of students by looking at the number of professors in each discipline. The number of law students was a lower percentage of total student enrollment than the number of law degrees awarded was a percentage of all degrees conferred, because law students were more likely to obtain degrees than other students. Although expensive to obtain, a doctorate of law was a valuable credential. A further complication arises from the fact that Italian university terminology did not distinguish between medicine and other arts subjects, such as philosophy and humanities. All were "arts." The overwhelming majority of arts degrees were doctorates of medicine. But a significant number of students concentrated on other arts subjects and then took medical doctorates or did not obtain degrees. For example, a number of Italian professors of philosophy and humanities lacked doctorates. This meant that the number of arts students was higher than the number of medical doctorates conferred. Hence, law did not dominate student enrollment as much as the number of degrees conferred suggested. Indeed, observers of the University of Padua noted that once in a while, the number of arts students was higher than the number of law students. Grendler, 2002, 34, 36. Of course, this was unusual. The closest correlation between degrees awarded and number of students was in theology, because the degree was so clearly a professional degree of use only to clergymen, especially members of religious orders.

[14] Schwinges, 2000, 47. This short article presents an English summary of detailed research in Schwinges, 1986, esp. 465–86. See also Siraisi, 57, 202 note 11.

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The second major difference is that Italian universities taught students at graduate and professional levels, while northern universities, especially English and German universities, taught mostly undergraduates seeking bachelor's degrees. The bachelor's degree had disappeared in Italian universities by about 1400. Hence, students at Italian universities sought doctoral degrees. The licentiate, or authorization to teach anywhere in Christendom, was not considered a terminal degree but an appendage to the doctorate. It was normally conferred at the same time as the doctorate.[15] In stark contrast, the largest number of graduates in northern European universities were young men for whom the bachelor of arts was the terminal degree. English and German universities conferred a very small number of doctorates in law and medicine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is why many northern students, bachelor of arts in hand or with equivalent preparation, came to Italy for doctorates in law and medicine. On the other hand, northern universities did confer a significant number of doctorates in theology.

The fact that the students in Italian universities obtained doctorates in law and medicine, while the overwhelming majority at northern universities obtained bachelor of arts degrees, meant that students pursued different careers after graduation. Students emerging from Italian universities with doctorates of law became lawyers, judges, and administrators in civil and ecclesiastical chanceries, especially the Roman curia, which absorbed a large number of law graduates. Those with medical doctorates received permission to practice from local colleges of physicians and entered private practice, or Italian town governments hired them as communal physicians. In northern Europe, a large number of bachelors of arts became teachers in Latin schools.

The links between regional university, bachelor of arts graduates, and municipal schools could be close and tight. The role that the University of Prague played in staffing the Latin schools of the Kingdom of Bohemia is illuminating. Bohemia needed about 300 teachers to staff its 114 municipal Latin schools between 1570 and 1620. Town councils wanted their teachers to be well prepared in arts, to have a command of the Czech language, and to be Protestant. In order to guarantee a supply of well prepared teachers, the towns conceded the power to appoint their teachers to the rector of the University of Prague, who chose them from the bachelor of arts graduates of his university. The accord went beyond the power to make initial appointments. If a young teacher performed well, the university rector had the authority to appoint him to teach at a school in a bigger town when a vacancy occurred. Consequently, some teachers started in isolated towns, then moved to larger

[15]Grendler, 2002, 172–74.

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towns closer to Prague, where they might combine teaching with study for the master of arts degree. Prague graduated an average of thirty-three bachelors of arts annually between 1601 and 1620, and about ninety percent immediately became teachers in Bohemia.[16]

The agreement guaranteed a supply of qualified teachers to the towns. But it offered benefits to the graduates as well. The prospect of a good teaching job at the end of their studies probably spurred students to perform well and to complete their degrees. Since the rector made appointments, young teachers would not be completely under the thumb of the town council or the local minister. In addition, the arrangement facilitated a good deal of geographical and social mobility for the students turned teachers. They often came from middle class families, acquired bachelor of arts degrees, then taught in different towns from those of their birth. Some rose in the society of their adopted towns to become members of town councils, especially if they married locally. Overall, the arrangement demonstrated the close links between a mostly undergraduate university and the larger society.

The third major difference between Italian universities and most northern European universities was organization and cohesiveness. Northern universities, especially German universities, were highly organized, by Renaissance standards. They had senates empowered to make academic policy. They had professorial rectors or deans who led significant parts of the university, such as the faculty of theology. Senates, rectors, and deans had real authority over curriculum and teaching.[17] A hierarchy of senate, rectors and deans, permanent professors, and masters of arts who taught undergraduate arts courses, existed. Some northern universities had further coherence because they were closely linked to religious orders. Before the Reformation the University of Wittenberg was closely linked to the Augustinian Hermits, who provided professors, students, and a residence. Undergraduate residences supervised by live-in teachers helped unite teachers and students. The number of permanent professors at most northern universities — Paris was an obvious exception — was small, sometimes as few as ten to fifteen, which also aided cohesion. The northern university was much more likely to be a community of teachers and students than an Italian university. As a result, it was in a position to speak and act as a body, so long as its members were in agreement or followed a leader.[18]

[16]Pešek for this and the following paragraph.

[17]For a description of the organization of the University of Wittenberg, see Schwiebert, 1996, 223–37.

[18]Another difference between Italian and German universities was that German princes inserted themselves more directly, deeply, and frequently into the affairs of the universities in their states than did Italian princes and city governments. This was particularly noticeable af-

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But Italian universities had hardly any organization and were not cohesive academic communities. No faculty senate and no rector with power over curriculum and faculty existed.[19] The professors were more senior in age and accomplishments than those at northern universities, partly because Italian universities lacked regents, that is, young masters of arts required to teach for a year or two before they could get on with their lives. Almost all professors in Italian universities held doctorates and enjoyed lifetime tenure from the first annual contract.[20] There were no undergraduate residences to supervise. Professors did not come together for degree examinations. Professional associations, that is, colleges of doctors of law, medicine, or theology, examined degree candidates. The membership of these colleges included some professors but a much larger number of local lawyers, physicians, or clergymen with doctoral degrees from the local university. Nor did Italian universities have institutional links with religious orders. Indeed, law and medicine professors often viewed with condescension the one or two members of the regular clergy from local monasteries who taught theology in the university. Finally, the size of major Italian universities, with forty to one hundred permanent professors, worked against community. Probably the only time that professors came together was the formal opening of the academic year, at which time the humanist professor orated about the benefits of learning and inspired or bored his colleagues.

As a consequence, individual professors, especially the stars in law and medicine, had almost complete autonomy. They had to follow the broad curricular prescriptions of statutes in their teaching, such as lecturing on Aristotle's *Physics* in natural philosophy. But that was all: there were many ways

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ter the Reformation began, as German princes imposed new statutes and confessions of faith, made curricular changes, and invited in or forced out professors. By contrast, although Italian princes and city councils exercised ultimate control, they made few direct interventions and generally held the university at arm's length. An intervening magistracy made appointments, determined salaries, and oversaw the daily affairs. The fact that several important Italian universities were located beyond the capital cities (e. g., the university of the Venetian state was in Padua, that of Lombardy was in Pavia, that of the Florentine state in Pisa after 1543, while Bologna was the most important university of the papal state) further separated prince and university.

[19]Italian universities had elected student rectors who led the student organizations. Sometimes the student rectors also taught. But by the early sixteenth century, their power to choose a handful of junior faculty members in some universities had disappeared. By the middle of the sixteenth century, student organizations in Italian universities were generally so unimportant that rector positions sometimes went unfilled. Grendler, 2002, 158.

[20]Although Italian university appointments were for one or two years, occasionally four years, without guarantee of renewal, they were almost always renewed at the same or higher salaries until the professor departed or died. Ibid., 160.

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of teaching Aristotle. The best ones spent their time writing and publishing, thereby acquiring great reputations in their fields. Some Italian professors commanded loyalty from their students and won the friendship of members of the government. But this did not translate into university cohesion. As often as not, star professors were at loggerheads with colleagues in the same discipline. Indeed, the concurrent system, i.e., the practice of having two or more professors lecture on the same text at the same hour, encouraged bitter rivalries.

The different structures of Italian and German universities helped to determine their impact on European learning, religion, and society. The lack of structure in Italian universities made it possible for individual scholars to produce original research, a scarcely noticed form of Renaissance individualism. And they did. The list of their accomplishments in law, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, and the humanities is very long. German universities were structured to make it possible for the university to introduce change into religion and society. That is what the University of Wittenberg under the leadership of Martin Luther did.

3. Research and Scholarship

Renaissance universities produced an enormous amount of innovative research that changed several fields of learning and whose effects lasted far beyond the Renaissance. Research by university professors changed greatly medicine, mathematics, natural philosophy or science, the humanities, and, to a lesser extent, law. In these areas, Italian universities led the way.

Humanism was the major agent of change in university research.[21] But it was mostly an indirect process. Leading Italian humanists began to win university professorships in Italian universities in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. German humanists had a more difficult time becoming faculty members in German universities, because theologians often opposed their entry into university faculties. Some of the battles were memorable. But the humanists succeeded in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[22] However, humanities professors, often called professors of rhetoric and poetry, had limited direct impact on Italian universities. Instead, professors in other disciplines used the method and approach of humanism to transform their own disciplines. Humanistic training gave scholars the linguistic, philological, and historical skills to study the key works in the original languages and to understand better the context. The critical spirit of humanism, its tendency to challenge old views, was even more important than philological

[21]This is also the view of Rüegg, 1992, and Rüegg, 1996, 33–39.

[22]The bibliography is very large. Start with Nauert; and Rummel, chap. 4.

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skills. For example, in Italy, humanistically trained professors of medicine sometimes sneered at medieval medical texts and revered the ancient texts of Galen. They sought out manuscripts and found new works. They were not content with medieval Latin translations of Galen but used their knowledge of Greek to produce better Latin translations. Above all, the humanists were not content simply to follow Galen. They sought confirmation of what he wrote through their own anatomical studies. In time, they discovered Galen's inadequacies and corrected them. Eventually, their new research caused them to abandon much of Galen's physiology.[23]

Thus, professors of medicine imbued with humanist values and armed with philological skills created medical humanism, which led to greater emphasis on anatomical study, clinical medicine, and medical botany. In similar fashion, the humanistic quest to find, read, and translate into more accurate Latin Aristotle's works produced "Renaissance Aristotelianisms" and much change in natural philosophy.[24] The humanistic search for Greek mathematical texts inspired more sophisticated mathematical techniques. Led by Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), who taught at the universities of Avignon, Bourges, Pavia, Bologna, and Ferrara, some legal scholars with humanistic training worked to achieve a historical reconstruction of ancient Roman law, and then based their legal commentary on a better understanding of the ancient texts. This was humanistic jurisprudence, or *mos gallicus,* because its center was in French universities, with German universities second in importance. A professor of biblical studies in the out-of-the-way University of Wittenberg applied humanist methodology and perspective in his lectures and research on the Bible with original results.[25] The key item was always the spirit of criticism that humanism engendered in the best university scholars. In that sense, humanism was the driving force for innovation in university research.

All the major creative professors in various fields, from Andreas Vesalius (1514–64) and Giovanni da Monte (1489–1551), both of whom taught at the University of Padua in medicine, to Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), who taught mathematics at the universities of Pisa and Padua, plus Martin Luther (1483–1546) and Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) at the University of Wittenberg, had humanist training.

[23]The literature on medical humanism is large. Start with Bylebyl, 1979 and 1985, and the studies in *Medical Renaissance.*

[24]"Renaissance Aristotelianisms" comes from Schmitt, 10–33. For mathematics, see Rose. For humanistic jurisprudence, see Kelley. These are only three works in large bibliographies.

[25]The influence of humanism on Luther has produced much scholarly debate. Three scholars who see it as significant are Junghaus; Spitz, 1996, Studies VI–X; and Dost.

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4. Without Universities, No Reformation

Italian university professors changed scientific scholarship through innovative research. German universities and professors changed Europe by creating the Protestant Reformation.

Bernd Moeller, the well-known historian of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, made the statement, "Without humanism, no Reformation."[26] He was correct. But Moeller should have added another statement: "Without universities, no Reformation," because university professors created and sustained the Protestant Reformation through its first century.

The Protestant Reformation began as a common academic exercise, a proposed disputation. Martin Luther had been concerned about the indulgence trafficking in and around Wittenberg since 1514. This led him to examine and find wanting the biblical and theological support for indulgences.[27] In late October 1517, Luther drafted *Ninety-five Theses,* or propositions for debate, concerning indulgences, in preparation for a public disputation about them. This was normal procedure for a university disputation by a professor who wished to attract attention to himself and his views. Luther had engaged in previous disputations in September 1516 and April 1517, in which he attacked Scholasticism.[28] The ideas in the *Ninety-five Theses* (or *On the Power of Indulgences*) were revolutionary. But the theses were written in academic disputation prose, which was just as dreary as it sounds.[29] The number of theses that Luther proposed to debate was about average for a disputation led by a professor. Students might propose to defend only fifteen to twenty theses (see figs. 4 and 5).[30] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94) attracted wide attention in 1487 because he offered to defend 900 theses with unusual content.

Because no early copy of Luther's notice of the disputation has survived, it is not known whether he proposed a date and time. Nor is it known if the original copy was printed or handwritten (see figs. 4 and 5). Sometimes the announcement with the theses to be debated was printed and the place and

[26]"Ohne Humanismus keine Reformation." Moeller, 1959, 59; in English, Moeller, 1982, 36.

[27]Brecht, 1:183–90.

[28]Ibid., 1:166–74.

[29]For an English translation of the *Ninety-Five Theses,* see Luther, 489–500. See Brecht, 1:192–99 for a summary and commentary.

[30]See Matsen; and Grendler, 2002, 152–57, for more information, bibliography, and illustrations of student disputation notices in Italian universities. On 27 April 1517, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541) published 151 theses against Scholasticism. On 4 September 1517, Luther's ninety-seven theses against Scholasticism were disputed. Brecht, 1:170, 172.

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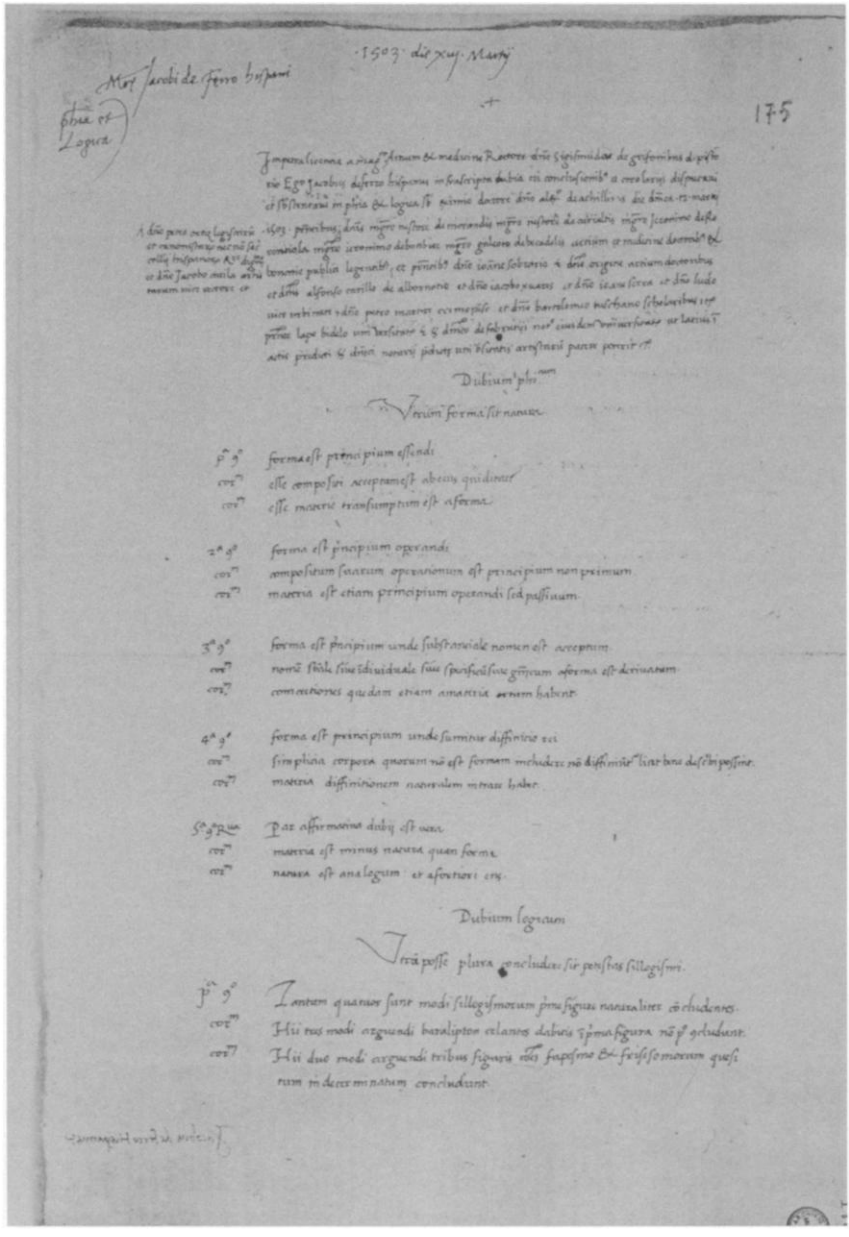

FIGURE 4. Handwritten announcement of disputation by student Jacobus De Ferro Hispanus of 13 March 1503 at the University of Bologna. Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Riformatori dello Studio, Dispute e ripetizioni di scolari per ottenere letture d'università 1487–1515, f. 175r. Courtesy of Archivio di Stato di Bologna.

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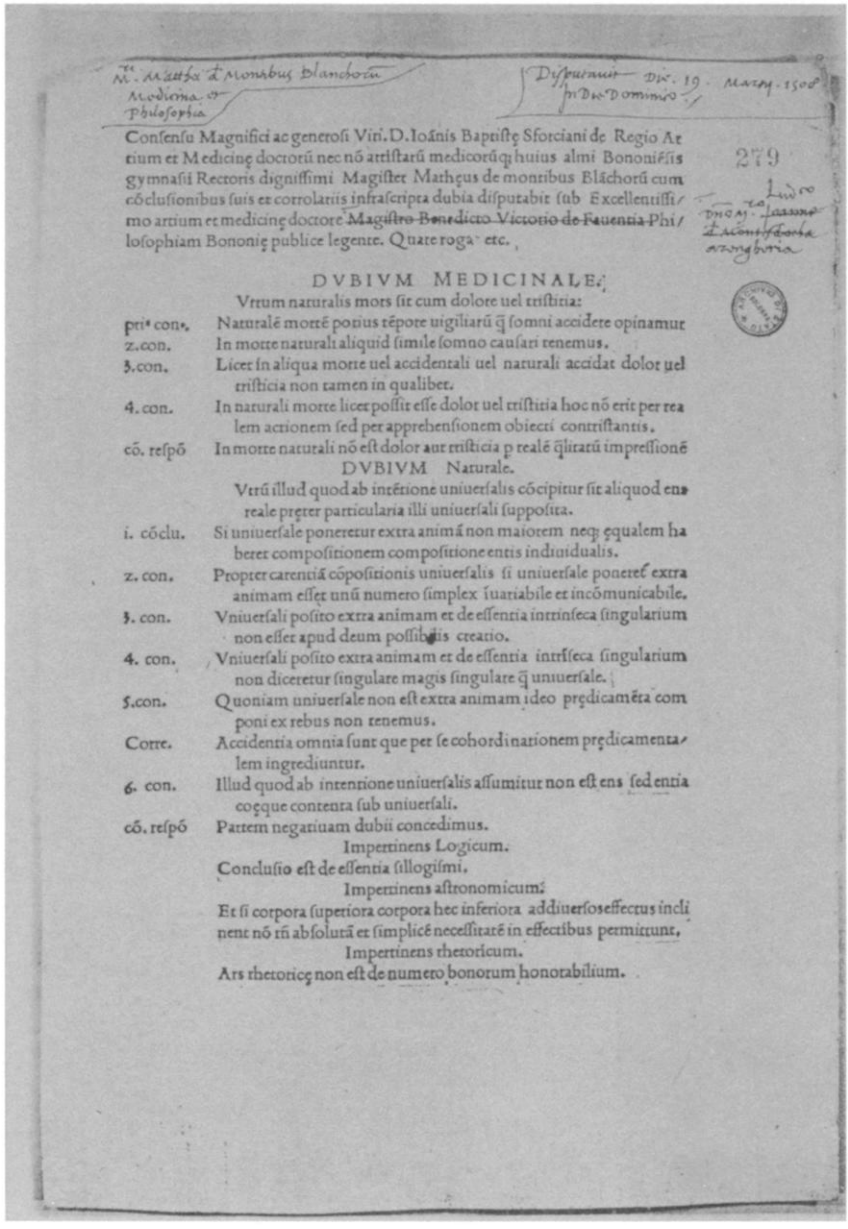

Mattheus de Montibus Blanchorū
Medicina &
Philosophia

Disputauit die. 19. Martij. 1508
in Dño Dominico

Consensu Magnifici ac generosi Viri. D. Ioānis Baptistę Sforciani de Regio Artium et Medicinę doctorū nec nō artistarū medicorūq; huius almi Bononiēsis gymnasii Rectoris dignissimi Magistet Matheus de montibus Blāchorū cum cōclusionibus suis et corrolariis infrascripta dubia disputabit sub Excellentissimo artium et medicinę doctore Magistro Benedicto Victorio de Faventia Philosophiam Bononię publice legente. Quare roga⁹ etc.

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Ludo
DNOR. Iasone
Lucio Sforcia
Comiti Pisaurij

DVBIVM MEDICINALE.

Vtrum naturalis mors sit cum dolore uel tristitia:

pti⁹ con. Naturalē mortē potius tēpore uigiliarū q̄ somni accidere opinamur
2. con. In morte naturali aliquid simile somno causari tenemus.
3. con. Licet in aliqua morte uel accidentali uel naturali accidat dolor uel tristicia non tamen in qualibet.
4. con. In naturali morte licet possit esse dolor uel tristitia hoc nō erit per rea lem actionem sed per apprehensionem obiecti contristantis.
cō. respō In morte naturali nō est dolor aut tristicia p realē q̄litatū impressionē

DVBIVM Naturale.

Vtrū illud quod ab intētione uniuersalis cōcipitur sit aliquod ens reale prēter particularia illi uniuersali supposita.
1. cōclu. Si uniuersale poneretur extra animā non maiorem neq; equalem haberet compositionem compositione entis indiuidualis.
2. con. Propter carentiā cōpositionis uniuersalis si uniuersale poneteꝰ extra animam esset unū numero simplex inuariabile et incōmunicabile.
3. con. Vniuersali posito extra animam et de essentia intrinseca singularium non esset apud deum possibilis creatio.
4. con. Vniuersali posito extra animam et de essentia intrinseca singularium non diceretur singulare magis singulare q̄ uniuersale.
5. con. Quoniam uniuersale non est extra animam ideo predicamēta componi ex rebus non tenemus.
Corre. Accidentia omnia sunt que per se cohordinationem predicamentalem ingrediuntur.
6. con. Illud quod ab intentione uniuersalis assumitur non est ens sed entia coęque contenta sub uniuersali.
cō. respō Pattem negatiuam dubii concedimus.

Impertinens Logicum.

Conclusio est de essentia syllogismi.

Impertinens astronomicum.

Et si corpora superiora corpora hec inferiora addiuersoseffectus inclinent nō tñ absolutā et simplicē necessitatē in effectibus permittunt.

Impertinens rhetoricum.

Ars rhetoricę non est de numero bonorum honorabilium.

FIGURE 5. Printed announcement of disputation by student Mattheus de Montibus Blanchorum of 19 March 1508 at the University of Bologna. Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Riformatori dello Studio, Dispute e ripetizioni di scolari per ottenere letture d'università 1487–1515, f. 279r. Courtesy of Archivio di Stato di Bologna.

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date added by hand. It is also likely, but not proven, that Luther posted the *Ninety-Five Theses* on the university's bulletin board, which was the wooden door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. After making his intentions known, Luther probably expected the disputation to take place in early November, after the two solemn feasts of All Saints and All Souls, 1 and 2 November. While most disputations had only local university relevance, there was a growing tendency to use disputations to reach broader, but still limited audiences.[31] So Luther sent a copy of the *Ninety-Five Theses* to the local archbishop, just as Pico had sent copies of his 900 theses to the pope and others.

The disputation did not take place.[32] Had it occurred, attendance would have been limited to members of the university community and a few outsiders who understood Latin and were interested enough to attend a disputation on abstract theological points. Professors, students, and bystanders would have engaged in a noisy debate lasting several hours and settling nothing, just like sessions at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, except that today's scholars are less garrulous and more polite. Some professors and students might have risen or fallen in reputation according to how well — or loudly — they disputed. It was also customary to mail copies of the theses to professors and faculties of theology elsewhere. In due time, Luther might have received some comments in return. But probably not very many. Luther was a relatively young, unpublished professor in a little-known university. Wittenberg was distant geographically and even more remote in prestige compared with Paris. But history is full of surprises: an academic exercise that did not take place launched the Lutheran Reformation.

Much more important than the disputation that did not take place was Luther's position in the university and the role of the University of Wittenberg in what did happen. Luther was a professor of biblical studies at the University of Wittenberg from the winter semester of the academic year 1513–14 until his death in 1546. He never held any other position, and he continued to lecture despite interruptions. Nevertheless, his teaching and writing set off a chain reaction among professors and students of theology. He taught many students, some of whom would become leaders of the Reformation. They, in turn, also became professors of theology and taught more students, who taught their students, and so on. Moreover, Luther's faculty

[31] Brecht, 1:198–99, makes this point.

[32] Although this one did not take place, disputations remained an essential feature of education at the University of Wittenberg. For example, university records list twenty-two disputations, two with Luther presiding, from 29 September 1538 through 29 September 1539. *Urkundenbuch,* 202–03.

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colleagues were initially his strongest and most loyal supporters from the earliest days of the Lutheran Reformation.[33] Observers must have been surprised, because Renaissance professors were not renowned for supporting their colleagues. Indeed, after Luther's death, his academic followers reverted to form and engaged in bitter disputes with each other.

The activities of the first four or five years of the Lutheran Reformation resembled a young faculty uprising. Led by Luther, professors and students engaged in what appears to have been a continuous seminar, as they debated the foundations of traditional Catholicism. That many taught and lived together in the same building must have encouraged this atmosphere. As in other intellectual revolutions, neither Luther nor his followers could have predicted where their actions would lead.

The University of Wittenberg reaped enrollment rewards for promoting the Lutheran Reformation. Students and others came from all over Germany, eastern Europe, and Scandinavia to hear Luther and Philipp Melanchthon, who began teaching at Wittenberg on 29 August 1518. In early December 1520, an official visitor reported that about 400 students heard Luther's theology lectures and 500 to 600 students attended Melanchthon's lectures.[34] The last figure must have been nearly the entire student body. While enrollments plunged in other German universities as the Reformation spread, Wittenberg's soared, reaching one thousand and more in the 1540s and 1550s, probably the largest enrollment of any German university in those years.[35] After studying at the University of Witten-berg, the students

[33]Colleagues of Luther who were strong supporters include Johann Agricola, Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Viet Dietrich, Justus Jonas, Wenceslaus Linck, and Philipp Melanchthon. The exception was Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, who began as a supporter, but by 1522 opposed him. Indeed, he was forbidden to publish in that year, and his public activities were limited to teaching. He left to become Professor of the Old Testament at the University of Basel in 1534. See the Appendix for short biographies.

[34]"So hab' ich gestern in magister Philipps lection freilich bei 5 oder 600 auditores, un in doctor Martinus unter vierhundert auditores wenig befunden." Report of Georg Spalatin to Frederick, Elector of Saxony, no date but between 3 and 7 December 1520. *Urkundenbuch,* 109. The matriculation numbers support Spalatin's estimates. See next note.

[35]This is an extrapolation from the semi-annual matriculation figures found in *Album.* The annual numbers are summarized in a table in Schwiebert, 1950, 605; and presented year by year, 1502 through 1540, in Aland, 217, n. 110, and 220, n. 164. Their counts vary a little. Aland adds matriculation figures for the universities of Cologne, Erfurt, Leipzig, and Frankfurt on der Oder. Wittenberg's numerical superiority is clear. Wittenberg had 579 matriculants in 1519 and about 400 in 1520. Matriculations then fell through most of the rest of the 1520s (only seventy-six in 1526 and seventy-three in 1527), then rose steadily in the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s to a peak of about 800 in 1553. Since a student needed to enroll only once in his academic career, the records do not indicate the size of the student body in a given year. Since the vast majority of Wittenberg's students were arts undergraduates, and it

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of professors Luther and Melanchthon spread the Reformation through their preaching, by advising princes and city councils, and by drafting *Kirchenordnungen* (church orders) and *Schulordnungen* (school orders) for the new churches in German states.

Above all, Luther's followers became professors of theology. Eighty-eight leaders of the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Swiss Reformations were university professors in the century from 1517 through the Synod of Dortrecht of 1618 and 1619. Another fourteen were teachers at the Protestant academies of Geneva, Zurich, Lausanne, Strasbourg, and elsewhere. Although these small academies did not confer degrees, they taught some subjects, especially theology, at a university level. In short, 102 religious leaders of the magisterial Reformation were university professors or taught at an advanced level in major Protestant academies.[36] Like Luther, a large majority of these men spent all or most of their professional lives as university and academy professors. Although they also preached, acted as pastors, and oversaw the Lutheran, Calvinist, or Swiss Reformed churches in small states, they were primarily professors. By contrast, no Anabaptist leader and only two anti-Trinitarians were university professors.[37]

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took about two years to obtain a bachelor of arts degree, it is reasonable to assume that many students remained in residence at least two years, and those who came for higher degrees stayed longer. But many, many students did not stay long enough to obtain degrees. In addition, students often attended two or three universities, staying a few months or a year or so in each, before taking a degree in another university. And in the heady days of the early Lutheran Reformation, it is likely that many came to see and hear the man who was setting Germany ablaze, but did not remain. If one multiplies the annual matriculation records by the conservative number of 1.5, enrollments can be estimated as 850 in 1519, 600 in 1520, a low of 110 in 1527, a high of 1,200 in 1553, and an average between 400 and 600. But these are only estimates. The most important point is that Wittenberg in its peak years probably had more students than any other German university.

[36]These statements are based on an examination of all the biographies in *OER*. This admirable work presents biographies of important Protestants from the present-day Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, England, Scotland, Italy, Spain, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic (which was Bohemia in the sixteenth century), Slovakia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland. Excluding political leaders (kings, princes, and city leaders), as well as artists, musicians, and humanists who were Protestants but did not play significant roles in the Reformation, 267 religious figures remained. Of these, eighty-eight were university professors and fourteen were professors at important Protestant academies. See the Appendix. The 165 non-professors included all the Anabaptists and all but two anti-Trinitarian or Unitarians (see the next note). Others excluded are preachers, pastors, bishops, Protestant martyrs, including several Anabaptists about whom little is known, and individuals who had only local influence. A final comment: when it is remembered that a tiny, tiny number (perhaps .001%–.002% of the population) attended university, and the men who became professors even fewer, the key role of universities and professors is really remarkable.

[37]See Celio Secondo Curione and Matteo Gribaldi in the Appendix.

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Wittenberg was the most important university of the Protestant Reformation by a wide margin.[38] Next came Heidelberg, which oscillated between Lutheran and Calvinist allegiance, Cambridge, which led the English Reformation, and Leiden (founded 1575), which was essential to Calvinism and the Reformation in the Netherlands. The universities of Marburg, Tübingen, and Oxford also contributed significantly. The Geneva Academy played a unique role in the Calvinist movement.

Professors of theology inside German universities, not outside as in Italy, created and sustained the magisterial Reformation. The character and structure of German universities made this possible. Even though a German Protestant faculty of theology normally had only three to five professors, it was the most important graduate faculty and well organized. Luther and others did not have to compete with numerous and prominent professors of law and medicine for the attention of colleagues, students, and outsiders. Had Martin Luther been an Italian — call him Martino Lutero — in an Italian university, he would have attracted little attention. He probably would not have been a university professor at all. Most likely he would have spent his entire career lecturing to other members of his order in a monastic house of studies. He would not have had the stage and following that the University of Wittenberg gave him.

Except for religious doctrines, the Reformation did not change universities very much. Indeed, some German universities quietly restored subjects and texts jettisoned in the first wave of Protestant reforms. For example, Wittenberg brought back the teaching of canon law in a second round of university reforms between 1533 and 1536.[39] Moreover, Protestant universities, whether Lutheran or Calvinist, continued to use Aristotelian scholastic method to teach such subjects as natural philosophy and ethics. Later in the century, they developed a Protestant Scholasticism to teach theology.

5. Professors of the Reformation

After Luther's death in 1546, intellectual leadership of the Reformation passed almost completely to professors of theology. But without Luther to impose order, they behaved more and more like academics. They spent much time and energy attempting to best other professors in rancorous theological quarrels. The split between the Gnesio-Lutherans (genuine Lutherans) and the Philippists (the more moderate and accommodationist followers of Melanchthon), which began in 1548, was a harbinger of things to come. Lutheran theologians made valiant efforts to draft confessions of

[38]Three good, succinct studies of the relationship between universities and the Reformation are Benrath, 1966, reprinted as Benrath, 1970, and Spitz, 1981 and 1984.

[39]Lück, 76, 78, 82.

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faith and formulas of concord to heal division, without great success. Meanwhile, Calvinism grew and attracted followers from Lutheran ranks. Lutheran theologians and princes began to view those within their own ranks who disagreed on some doctrinal issues as crypto-Calvinists, sometimes with good reason. But the Calvinist community had no more success in preserving unity. The Arminian Controversy in the Dutch Reformed Church in the early seventeenth century exposed deep divisions within the Reformed community. The religious leadership of professors of theology and universities came at a price.

It was to be expected that professors at Catholic universities who proclaimed allegiance to Protestantism would lose their posts. And when a university turned Protestant, Catholic professors who refused to accept the new faith were dismissed.[40] But Protestant universities proved to be equally intolerant of other Protestants. Lutheran universities did not want Zwinglians teaching theology, Calvinists rejected Lutherans, Lutherans dismissed Calvinists, and Gnesio-Lutherans would not tolerate Philippist Lutherans.

Professors of theology could not dismiss other professors, however much they might have wished to do so. But they did draft confessions of faith and formulas of concord. Princes who accepted these formulas imposed them on the professors and clergy of their states. Many professors, especially theologians who could not accept the confessions, lost their jobs in the second half of the sixteenth century. A few examples illustrate the point.

Viktorin Strigel (1524–69), a Philippist Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Jena in Ernestine Saxony, became embroiled in a bitter theological controversy with another professor there, Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–75). This led to the imposition of a doctrinal statement by the ruler, Elector Johann Friedrich II. Strigel refused to sign and was briefly imprisoned or placed under house arrest for several months. He moved to the University of Leipzig, another Lutheran institution, in 1563. But in 1567, he was suspended from his Leipzig professorship on suspicion of holding Calvinist views on the Lord's Supper. He immediately moved to the Calvinist University of Heidelberg, where he taught until he died.[41]

[40] For example, when the University of Tübingen became Lutheran in 1534 and 1535, Catholic professors were forced out. Mobley, 83. But see the sad case of Philipp Apian, professor of mathematics. In 1569 he lost his position at the Catholic University of Ingolstadt for being a Protestant. He was then hired at the Lutheran University of Tübingen in 1570, but lost his position there in 1583 for refusing to sign the Formula of Concord of 1577. Mobley, 221–23, 229, n. 268, 293. The note also lists several other Tübingen professors who lost their positions for religious reasons. Apian and Matteo Gribaldi Mofa (see Appendix) may have been the only professors who lost positions at both Catholic and Protestant universities for religious reasons.

[41] See Strigel and Flacius Illyricus in the Appendix.

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Many professors lost their positions at the University of Heidelberg as the Palatinate oscillated between Lutheran and Calvinist allegiance. It had become strongly Calvinist during the reign of Elector Frederick III (ruled 1559–76). But when Elector Ludwig VI (ruled 1576–83) returned the Palatinate to Lutheranism in 1576, he insisted that all professors and students sign a Lutheran oath of obedience and swear allegiance to several Lutheran doctrinal statements. Three theologians were immediately dismissed, two professors departed before being asked to sign the oath, and six professors refused to sign and lost their positions, between 1576 and 1579. Since Heidelberg had only sixteen professors in 1569, it was a huge turnover. Lutheran professors were hired in their place. However, in 1583, Ludwig's brother, Johann Casimir, a Calvinist, began a nine-year regency for Ludwig's underage son, the future Elector Frederick IV, during which time he ruled the state. Now Lutheran professors were let go and Calvinists hired. Many students also left.[42]

Luther's own University of Wittenberg saw several professors dismissed or suffer other penalties for religious reasons in the last quarter of the century. In 1574, Elector August I (ruled 1553–86) had Caspar Peucer (1525–1602), a professor of medicine, imprisoned for crypto-Calvinism. He was not released until 1586. In 1581, professors had to decide whether to sign the Formula of Concord of 1577, designed to end the controversy between Gnesio-Lutherans and Philippists but strongly favoring the former. Two jurists, two professors of medicine, and one mathematician chose to leave. But the next ruler, Elector Christian I (ruled 1586–91) favored Calvinism. Polykarp Leyser (1552–1610), a Lutheran professor of theology appointed in 1577 and a key figure in enforcing the Lutheran position, was dismissed in 1587. The rulers of the 1590s again favored Lutheranism and more dismissals followed, including that of Samuel Huber (1547–1624), for his views on predestination, in 1594.[43]

Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600), a Lutheran and the most important Danish Reformer, suffered the same fate. Appointed professor of Greek at the University of Copenhagen about 1543, he became a professor of theology in 1553. He was the most prominent member of the university and the

[42]See the biographies of Johann Grynaeus, Thomas Lüber, Zacharias Ursinus, and Girolamo Zanchi in the Appendix. See also Maag, 155–71, esp. 159–61; *OER* 2:216–17; Wolgast, 24–54; and the biographies of Heidelberg professors in Drüll, passim. In addition, Drüll, 593–97, provides lists organized according to religious affiliation of all university professors who taught there between 1522 and 1651. One can easily follow the changes.

[43]See the biography of Peucer in the Appendix. See also *OER* 2:117–21; 3:251–52, 255–61; 4:285–86. See also Friedensburg, 263–345, 395–415; and Aland, 178–209, for the long theological battles at Wittenberg from the 1570s through the 1620s.

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author of many works. However, he was dismissed from his position in 1579 for being a crypto-Calvinist and for attacking the Gnesio-Lutheran position. He never held another professorship.[44] These were not the only professors to lose their positions.

6. The Decline of Universities

European universities enjoyed one of the greatest and most productive periods in their history during the Renaissance and Reformation. They produced an enormous amount of innovative research. They created a religious revolution. They enjoyed a near monopoly as educators of Europe's scholarly, civic, and ecclesiastical elites. They trained an abundance of Latin school teachers. But their success did not continue in the seventeenth century.

The causes of decline and loss of influence were numerous. War, especially the Thirty Years' War, whose tentacles stretched across central Europe and entangled Italy, disrupted universities in many places, especially in Germany. English universities suffered the upheavals of civil war, regicide, and the Puritan ascendancy. Great ills, such as famine and plague in northern Italy between 1629 and 1633, damaged the society which supported universities. Internal problems, such as increased professorial absenteeism and student brawling, weakened universities.[45] In curricular matters, universities hung on to the Aristotelian synthesis too long. For example, Italian professors of natural philosophy only discarded Aristotle for a more experimental approach to science in the last half of the seventeenth century.[46]

War, plague, student brawling, and intellectual conservatism were serious problems but not new. Competition from other institutions of higher education tipped the scale toward universal decline. Renaissance universities had no significant competitors.[47] But seventeenth-century universities did. New kinds of schools rose in both Catholic and Protestant Europe in the last

[44] *OER* 2:222–23; and Lyby and Grell, 117, 119–22, 125, 130; and biography in Appendix.

[45] For example, Annibale Roero (no life dates available) published in 1604 an account of his career as a law student at the University of Pavia between 1596 and 1602. He wrote that all students should carry swords and be willing to fight. Those who did not were considered cowards. He mocked those who closed their eyes when hit in the face. The only reason for closing one's eyes was to avoid the blood spurting from an opponent's wound. Roero, 133. For more on student violence in Italian universities including the new problem of firearms, see Grendler, 2002, 500–05.

[46] See Soppelsa; and Schmitt, 5–7, 103–08.

[47] Monastic order *studia generalia,* i.e., the schools of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and other medieval orders, which taught philosophy, biblical studies, and theology, were the only competitors to Renaissance universities. But they did not teach law or medicine.

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third of the sixteenth century. They multiplied in number and expanded their enrollments in the seventeenth century. They offered fierce competition for scholarly leadership and students, especially the wealthy noble students that all universities sought. The new schools were not universities teaching the full range of arts, theology, law, medicine, philosophy, science, and mathematics. Rather, they taught part of the university curriculum and gave young men specific professional skills and religious preparation for life.

In the Catholic world, the new religious orders as the Jesuits, the Barnabites (the Clerks Regular of St. Paul), Somaschans (Clerks Regular of Somascha), and Piarists (Clerks Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools) established new schools in Italy, Spain, and central Europe.[48] For example, the Society of Jesus founded its first school for external students, meaning lay students who were not members of the Society, in Messina, Sicily, in 1548. It taught a core curriculum of Latin grammar, humanities, and rhetoric, and some Greek, to boys aged ten to sixteen. Jesuit schools spread incredibly quickly; by 1599, there were 245 Jesuit schools for external students across Europe, 444 in 1626, and 578 by 1679.[49] The Jesuits, the Doctrinaires (Secular Priests of the Christian Doctine), and Oratorians (the French Congregation of the Oratory) founded many schools in France.

In a few cases — Cologne, Ingolstadt, Mainz, Trier, and Parma in Italy are examples — the Jesuits became part of universities, where they dominated the faculties of theology and played an important role in arts and philosophy.[50] In such cases, they may have attracted students who would not otherwise have come to the university. However, their presence meant fewer professorships for lay scholars.

But most of the new schools founded by the Jesuits and other religious orders took students away from universities. In the last third of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits began to add instruction in higher subjects in many of their schools. They added a three-year cycle of logic in the first year, natural philosophy with an emphasis on physical science in the second year, and metaphysics and natural philosophy emphasizing psychology in the third year, always based on Aristotle. They also taught mathematics, theology, and cases of conscience. Jesuit schools teaching higher subjects were usually located in larger towns, often those hosting universities. For example, Italian Jesuit schools teaching higher subjects were found in the university towns of

[48] For the religious orders, start with the comprehensive articles on the orders, their founders, and important figures in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione.*

[49] Farrell, 365; Brizzi, 1976, 20.

[50] See Hengst for a survey, and Mobley, 234–374, for a more recent study of the Jesuits at the University of Ingolstadt. For Parma, see Grendler, 2002, 129–37, including additional bibliography.

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Padua, Rome, and Naples, as well as Milan and other towns lacking universities, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[51] Many members of religious orders were excellent scholars who published a great deal in theology, biblical studies, philosophy, physical science, and mathematics. Their scholarly accomplishments often equaled or surpassed those of university scholars.

Professional associations recognized the quality of the higher studies of the religious order schools and reacted accordingly. A decision of the College of Physicians of Milan, the professional association that licensed physicians to practice in Milan, made this clear. The College, which also had the power to confer doctorates of medicine, decreed in 1584 that candidates for doctorates might count three years of philosophical studies at the Jesuit school in Milan toward the seven years of philosophy and medicine training required for the doctor of medicine degree.[52] The Milanese students who did their philosophical studies at the Jesuit Brera School of Milan would otherwise have studied at the University of Pavia, the university of the Milanese state, or at other Italian universities.

Religious order boarding schools for the sons of nobles competed successfully with universities for the most prized students. Beginning in the mid-1570s, the Jesuits began to found or accept the direction of schools open only to boys of noble blood.[53] They were either independent boarding schools or special classes within larger Jesuit schools. Unlike other Jesuit schools, these schools were not free but quite expensive. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits in Italy alone operated schools for nobles in the university towns of Turin, Parma, Bologna, Ferrara, Siena, Rome, and Naples, as well as the non-university towns of Milan, Genoa, Brescia, Verona, Ravenna, Prato, Palermo, and Cagliari in Sardinia. They had schools for nobles in Madrid, Graz, Sopron, Vienna, and Olomouc in Habsburg lands, and Kaschau in Hungary. They also operated many boarding schools open to both nobles and wealthy commoners, especially in France and Germany.[54]

Jesuit boarding schools taught boys from about the ages of eleven to twenty and had large enrollments. For example, the noble boarding school of Parma had 550 boys in 1605, 644 in 1646, and 903 in 1660.[55] Those in ad-

[51] While well known to historians of Jesuit education, the expansion of higher studies in Jesuit colleges has received less attention than it merits. For Milan, see Rurale, 136–45; for Italy as a whole, see Grendler, in press.

[52] Rurale, 145–46.

[53] Brizzi, 1976, is the fundamental study.

[54] Ibid., 26.

[55] Brizzi, 1980, 150–51.

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vanced classes, approximately one third of the student body, were young men aged seventeen to twenty who might otherwise have attended universities. In France, the famous Collège Henri IV (usually called La Flèche), operated by the Jesuits, had 1,200 to 1,400 students in the 1620s, of whom 300 were boarders and 230 in higher studies.[56] Its most famous pupil was René Descartes (1596–1650), who spent the years ten to nineteen there. He studied philosophy, mathematics, physics, and Galileo Galilei's optic discoveries in the last three years.

The boarding schools offered curricula designed to attract the high born and wealthy. In addition to humanities, philosophy, mathematics, and theology, Jesuit boarding schools for nobles in northern Italy taught horsemanship, French, and dancing, none of which universities offered.[57] Most important, noble boarding schools offered the opportunity for young patricians to mingle with their peers from other parts of Italy and abroad, because noble boarding schools attracted a European-wide clientele. Noble boarding schools and other boarding schools for wealthy commoners became the schools of choice for Europe's elite. In addition to the social advantages, parents saw a Jesuit or Barnabite boarding school as offering a better environment for learning than universities. Religious order boarding schools offered a physically safe, religiously disciplined, and tightly structured education, in contrast to the violence, licentiousness, and loosely organized curriculum of many universities.

Religious order schools generally, and their boarding schools in particular, stripped universities of the most highly prized students, the future leaders of society. Earlier, an indeterminate but discernible number of the sons of rulers and high nobles had studied in Renaissance universities.[58] They did not often graduate, because they did not need degrees in order to get ahead in life. But they did attend universities and were very welcome. Their presence enhanced the prestige of the university, their free spending supported the local economy, and professors profited from association with them. When these students reached positions of power, they might turn to a favorite professor for advice or to fill an office. But by the early seventeenth century these prized students usually attended religious order boarding schools.

[56]Mazin, cols. 905–06.

[57]Brizzi, 1976, 207–56, 261–92.

[58]Ercole Gonzaga (1505–63), a future cardinal and de facto ruler of Mantua for a few years, and Giovanni de' Medici (1475–1521), the future Leo X, are two examples. Grendler, 2002, 166–67, 461. Indeed, many Renaissance popes, cardinals, and bishops obtained law degrees. But it is more difficult to document the university studies of princes and other nobles, because they seldom took degrees.

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The schools of the Jesuits, Barnabites, Somaschans, Doctrinaires, et al., competed successfully with universities for students without awarding degrees. From 1561 onward, all schools of the Society of Jesus had the authority to confer degrees, including the doctorate, in theology and philosophy, so long as the candidate was examined rigorously.[59] But so far as can be determined, the Jesuits did not grant degrees to external students and only awarded a limited number of degrees to their own members, usually just those who had studied at the Collegio Romano, the Society's leading school.[60]

In the Protestant world, academies rose to compete with universities. They had various names, including academy, *Hochschule,* and *Gymnasium Illustre,* e. g., the Bremen Gymnasium Illustre (Distinguished or Illustrious Higher School of Bremen).[61] Whatever the name, these were small schools offering university-level instruction in a limited number of disciplines, especially arts and theology, but without the formal structure of a university faculty of theology. Most important, they did not confer degrees because they lacked papal or imperial charters authorizing them to grant degrees recognized throughout Christendom. Indeed, no Calvinist educational institution received an imperial charter until the Holy Roman Empire recognized Calvinism at the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. Despite this handicap, academies hired university-level scholars and took students away from universities. If the theology and arts teachers were distinguished, academies offered excellent instruction and wielded considerable intellectual and religious influence.

The most important was the Geneva Academy, which began teaching in June 1559. It usually had two professors of theology, one or two professors of arts, a professor of Greek, a professor of Hebrew, and one or two professors of law, for a total of six to eight professors through 1620.[62] The faculty included several eminent scholars, although some left after a few years for positions of higher prestige and salary.[63] On the other hand, university pro-

[59]Scaduto, 207–10. Earlier, Pope Julius III had granted the Society the power to award degrees to its own students in 1552, and Paul IV had authorized the Society to grant degrees to all students, Jesuit and non-Jesuits, at the Collegio Romano in 1556. Now all Jesuit schools had this right.

[60]Although based on research in progress on the Jesuits and Italian universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the statement is tentative.

[61]See Stauffer; Menk for surveys of Calvinist *Hochschulen* or academies in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

[62]Maag, 196–98 et passim.

[63]The most eminent scholars at the Geneva Academy were Jean Calvin who taught theology from 1559 to 1564, Théodore de Bèze who taught theology from 1559 to 1595 and in 1598 and 1599, François Hotman who taught law from 1572 to 1578, Joseph-Juste Scaliger

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fessors willingly accepted positions at Geneva and other Protestant academies when they lost university positions for religious reasons. The student body at Geneva was small: fifty to one hundred (rising to 149 matriculated students in 1584) were average annual numbers between 1559 and 1620.[64] In the academy's first decade, a large majority of the students became Calvinist ministers. But by the 1570s, the majority of students entered civil service or became lawyers. Many students were young nobles who did not pursue professional careers.[65]

Even though the Geneva Academy did not offer degrees, it acted like a university. It taught several university disciplines. It trained clergymen and others who became professors of theology in Calvinist universities such as Heidelberg and Leiden. Foreign students from France and Germany came to study. But the city authorities of Geneva decided not to attempt to transform the Geneva Academy into a university with the power to confer degrees.[66] They perceived that awarding degrees was not necessary in order to hold an honored place in higher education in the expanding Calvinist world. And they did not want too many rowdy young foreigners disturbing the peace of their godly city. The Geneva Academy remained a prestigious academy offering higher education in a limited number of disciplines. It became the model for similar small, focused institutions of higher education that spread across Protestant Europe.

Thus, European universities lost the preeminent place in higher education and scholarship that they had enjoyed in the Renaissance. Nevertheless, in the century between Luther's first lectures on the Bible at the University of Wittenberg in the winter of 1513–14, and Galileo Galilei's departure from the University of Padua in 1610, universities played a role in European history that has never been equaled.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, EMERITUS

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who taught arts from 1572 to 1574, Isaac Casaubon who taught Greek from 1582 to 1586, and 1587 to 1596, and Giulio Pacio who taught law and sometimes arts from 1575 to 1597. See the Appendix.

[64]Maag, 28–33, 53, 82, 85.

[65]Ibid., 30, 33, 56, 84, 86.

[66]Between 1592 and 1599, the Geneva city council explored the possibility of awarding degrees on its own authority and attempted to persuade first France, and then the United Provinces of the Netherlands, to recognize them. Although the United Provinces were encouraging, Henry IV, still a Protestant in 1592, was not, and the city abandoned the effort. Ibid., 80–81, 187. The traditional legal position that only pope or emperor could charter a university began to break down in the seventeenth century, as kings and cities authorized universities to grant degrees.

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Appendix

Religious Leaders of the Protestant Reformation who were University and Academy Professors

This is a list of 102 Protestant religious leaders who were professors in universities or Protestant academies during part or all of their careers. A handful of religious figures whose university experience was limited are included because they made significant contributions toward making a university Protestant. Johannes Brenz is the best example. On the other hand, a few Protestant reformers who taught in universities only for a year or two, and made no known significant contribution to the university, or whose university experience is unclear, have been omitted. Each biography gives summary information about the subject's university career based on the biographical entries, a handful of other articles in *OER,* additional studies of individual universities, and a few other sources. No attempt is made to present the rest of the sometimes very extensive careers of the Protestant professors. Although each biography in *OER* was written by a deeply knowledgeable scholar, names of the authors of the biographies have been omitted in order to conserve space. Readers are encouraged to consult the full biography and additional bibliography.

Protestant religious leaders who were fellows of colleges at Cambridge and Oxford for several years are included. Oxbridge colleges included scholars, tutors, fellows, readers, lecturers, and sometimes professors. But the lack of precise information about their duties makes it difficult to say with precision how and under what circumstances fellows taught. Nevertheless, they normally both studied and taught in their colleges.[A] They sought and obtained bachelor's and master's degrees, usually in arts, or theology, or both. Degree regulations obliged them to teach while studying for degrees or as regents after obtaining degrees. Sometimes fellows were required to take responsibility for the education of younger members of the college.[B] In addition, fellows participated in the intellectual and religious life of their colleges and often the larger university, at a time when Oxford and Cambridge provided religious leadership for the English Reformation. The same was true for masters of colleges.

Agricola, Johann (1492?–1566). German Lutheran theologian and early supporter of Luther, active in Wittenberg, Eisleben, and Berlin. Received BA in theology and MA in arts from the University of Wittenberg, where he lectured on the Bible in the early 1520s. Returned to Wittenberg to teach theology 1537–40, but he differed with Luther in the first antinomian controversy. Left for Berlin in 1540. *OER,* 1:10; *OER,* 1:52; Brecht, 3:158–71.

Alesius, Alexander (1500?–65). Scottish-German Lutheran theologian and biblical scholar. Represented Wittenberg theologians to Henry VIII, then taught theology at University of Frankfurt an der Oder ca. 1539–42 and University of Leipzig 1542–65. *OER,* 1:18–19.

Amsdorf, Nikolaus von (1483–1565). German Lutheran churchman and friend of Luther. Taught philosophy and possibly theology at the University of Wittenberg 1507–24. *OER,* 1:27–28; Friedensburg, 66, 68, 100, 109; *Urkundenbuch,* 15, 118, 119; Schwiebert, 1950, 271, 294, 295; Schwiebert, 1996, 227, 237, 242, 249, 451, 453–54, 456, 460.

[A] See McConica, 1986b, 1–48, 64–68; McConica, 1986a; and private communication of 30 October 2003.

[B] McConica, 1986b, 2–3, 45, 66.

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Andreæ, Jakob (1528–90). German Lutheran professor of theology and chancellor at the University of Tübingen 1561–76 and 1580–90; co-drafter of the Formula of Concord of 1577. *OER,* 1:36–38; *OER,* 2:117–21; Kolb.

Arminius, Jacobus (1559–1609). Dutch professor of theology at University of Leiden 1603–09. His views on predestination led to intense controversy in Calvinist churches. *OER,* 1:72–73.

Aslaksen, Cort (1564–1624). Norwegian Lutheran theologian. Professor of pedagogy 1600–03, of Greek and Latin 1603–07, then theology 1607–24, at University of Copenhagen. *OER,* 1:84.

Baduel, Claude (1491?–1561). French rector and professor at the Academy of Nîmes 1542–48; exposed as a Calvinist, he became a pastor in Switzerland and professor of philosophy and mathematics at the Geneva Academy 1560–61. *OER,* 1:110–11; Maag, 197.

Bernhardi, Bartholomeus von Feldkirchen (1487–1551). Early German follower of Luther at the University of Wittenberg who represented Luther's views in a disputation of 1516. Rector in 1518 and 1519 and (probably student) lecturer in theology in those years. Provost at Kemberg later. *OER,* 1:145–46; Friedensburg, 98–99, 112, 127, 132, 157.

Bernhardi, Johannes (ca. 1490–1534). Younger brother of Bartholomeus and follower of Luther who studied at the University of Wittenberg and taught natural philosophy, history, and rhetoric there 1520–34. *OER,* 1:146.

Beurlin, Jacob (1520–61). German Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Tübingen from 1551 and chancellor in 1561. *OER,* 1:148.

Bèze, Théodore de (1516–1605). French and Genevan Calvinist. First rector of the Geneva Academy and professor of theology 1559–95 and 1598–99. *OER,* 1:149–151; Maag, 196 and ab indice.

Bibliander, Theodor (1504?–64). Swiss Reformed theologian and biblical scholar. Professor of Old Testament at Zurich Academy 1531–60. *OER,* 1:171–72.

Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Andreas (1486–1541). Early follower of Luther who later split with him. Professor of theology at Wittenberg 1511–23; professor of Old Testament at University of Basel from 1534 to death. He also taught Hebrew. *OER,* 1:178–80; Friedensburg, ab indice; *Urkundenbuch,* ab indice.

Bogermannus, Johannes (1576–1637). Dutch Orthodox Calvinist minister, theologian, and translator of the Bible. Appointed professor of theology at the University of Franeker in 1633, but because of illness and other circumstances did not take up duties until 1636. *OER,* 1:181–82; and personal communication from Professor Christoph Lüthy, University of Nijmegen, who consulted materials in the Netherlands not easily available elsewhere.

Borrhaus, Martin (1499–1564). German Protestant theologian who may have held limited Anabaptist views. Professor of rhetoric at University of Basel 1541–46, then professor of Old Testament 1546–64, and rector of the university in 1546, 1553, and 1564. *OER,* 1:202–03.

Brenz, Johannes (1499–1570). Theologian and influential organizer of the Lutheran Reformation in the duchy of Württemberg. During his one year (1537–38) as professor of theology at the University of Tübingen he reorganized the university in an orthodox Lutheran direction. *OER,* 1:214–15; Mobley, 315.

Bucer, Martin (1491–1551). Born in Alsace. Very influential theologian and leader of the Strasbourg Reformation. Regius professor of theology at University of Cambridge 1549–51. *OER,* 1:221–23.

Bugenhagen, Johannes (1485–1558). German Lutheran organizer of the Reformation in several north German towns. Appointed pastor of the town church of Wittenberg in 1523, he also lectured twice weekly on theology and the Bible. Upon obtaining his doctorate of

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theology in 1533, he became a professor of theology but with less teaching because of his pastorship. *OER,* 1:226–27; Schweibert, 1996, 331, 336, 484, 489, 543 note 91.

Calvin, John (1509–64). French-born Protestant leader of the Reformation at Geneva. Professor of theology at Geneva Academy 1559–64. *OER,* 1:234–40; Maag, 196 et passim.

Camerarius, Joachim (1500–74). German Lutheran humanist; close associate and biographer of Melanchthon. Professor at the University of Tübingen 1535–41; professor of Greek, Latin, and moral philosophy, also rector and dean, at University of Leipzig 1541–74. *OER,* 1:249; *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig,* 721, 740, 748.

Capito, Wolfgang (1478?–1541). German humanist, Lutheran theologian, and Hebrew scholar. Professor of Old Testament at University of Basel 1515–21, also rector and dean of faculty of theology. In Strasbourg, he lectured informally on theology to the city's leading clergymen and laymen and argued for educational reform. *OER,* 1:259–60; Kittelson, 1975.

Cartwright, Thomas (1535–1603). English presbyterian theologian. For many years scholar and fellow at Cambridge, he became Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge in 1570, then lost his position for his views, went to Geneva where he may have taught, returned in 1572, was again exiled and went to Heidelberg and Basel. *OER,* 1:269–70.

Casauban, Isaac (1559–1614). French-Swiss Calvinist scholar of ancient church history. Professor of Greek at Geneva Academy 1582–86, 1587–96. *OER,* 1:270–71; Maag, 197 et passim.

Castellion, Sébastien (1515–63). French Protestant humanist scholar and proponent of religious toleration. Professor of Greek at University of Basel 1545–63. *OER,* 1:271–72.

Chaderton, Laurence (ca. 1538–1640). English Puritan preacher and educational administrator. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, from sometime in the 1560s to 1576, then master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from 1584 to 1622. Although he held no formal teaching post while master, his policies, example, and influence in training Puritan clergymen were great. *OER,* 1:299–300; Bendall, Brooke, and Collinson, 30–42, 177–86.

Chemnitz, Martin (1522–86). German Lutheran theologian, co-drafter of the Formula of Concord of 1577. Professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg from 1554 until he was appointed superintendent of churches in Braunschweig in the late 1550s. He lectured informally in Braunschweig. *OER,* 1:309–10; Kramer.

Chytraeus, Nathan (1543–98). German Lutheran humanist, pedagogue, and devotional writer; professor of Latin at University of Rostock 1564–93. As he turned toward Calvinism, his position at the University of Rostock became untenable and he left for Calvinist Bremen. Chytraeus was the younger brother of David Chytraeus (1530–1600), a Lutheran professor of theology at the University of Rostock 1551–1600, who perhaps merited a biographical article in *OER. OER,* 1:351–54; Olechnowitz, 1:33, 36, 38, 44–49, 51 (for both Nathan and David Chytraeus).

Coolhaes, Caspar (1534–1615). Dutch Calvinist who argued for the authority of civil magistracies over the church. Appointed professor of theology at the University of Leiden, he delivered the inaugural lecture at the founding of the university on 9 February 1575, and began lecturing. But he was soon driven out of the university (exact date unknown) for his latitudinarian Calvinism and was excluded from the ministry in 1582. *OER,* 1:423–24; Jurriaanse, 11; Clotz, 33.

Corro, Antonio del (1527–91). Spaniard who became a moderate Calvinist and, later, a member of the Church of England. Taught theology at the University of Oxford 1577–86, and was there unofficially in subsequent years. *OER,* 1:433–34; *The Collegiate University,* 326, 384–85, 390, 392, 417–18, 430, 440, 725.

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Cruciger, Caspar (1504–48). German Lutheran theologian and ally of Melanchthon; launched Wittenberg edition of Luther's works. Professor of philosophy at the University of Wittenberg 1528–33, then theology 1533–48. Expert in Aramaic and Hebrew. *OER,* 1:455–56; Friedensburg, 196–97, 226, 251–52, 254; Kathe, 81–82, 465; Schwiebert, 1996, 334, 336, 480, 489–90.

Curione, Celio Secondo (1503–69). Italian Protestant with anti-Trinitarian and Unitarian views. Professor of humanities at University of Pavia 1536–39; professor of rhetoric at the University of Basel 1546–69. *OER,* 1:460–61; Biondi.

Daneau, Lambert (1530?–95). French Calvinist pastor and theologian. Taught theology unofficially 1572–76 at Geneva, then as professor of theology at Geneva Academy 1576–80; professor of theology at the University of Leiden 1581–82. Objected to the measures imposed by the Leiden city government over the church and left. Taught theology in Calvinist academies in Ghent 1582–83, Orthez 1583–90, and Lescar 1590–91. *OER,* 1:463–64; Maag, 42–46, 175–76; Fatio.

Dering, Edward (ca. 1540–76). English Puritan and preacher. Fellow of Christ's College, University of Cambridge, 1560–70. *OER,* 1:475.

Dietrich, Viet (1506–49). German Lutheran. After arriving at the University of Wittenberg in 1522, he became Luther's amanuensis, editor, companion on journeys, and supervisor of the students who lived in Luther's household; reformer at Nuremberg from 1535. After obtaining a MA in arts in 1529, he probably taught arts at Wittenberg until 1535. Dean of arts in 1533. *OER,* 1:485; Friedensburg, 220.

Diodati, Jean (Giovanni) (1576–1649). Son of Italian immigrants to Geneva, Calvinist theologian and translator. Produced French and Italian Calvinist translations of the Bible. Professor of Hebrew 1597–1606, and theology 1599–1645, at Geneva Academy. *OER,* 1:485–86; Maag, 196–97.

Draconites, Johann (1494–1566). German Lutheran biblical scholar. Professor of theology at University of Marburg 1534–48; resigned during antinomian controversy. Professor of theology at University of Rostock 1551–60. *OER,* 2:4; *Catalogus Professorum,* 6; Olechnowitz, 1:34.

Du Moulin, Charles (1500–66). French Calvinist legal scholar and theologian. Professor of law at University of Tübingen 1553–54, where he inserted theology in his law lectures and provoked opposition. Taught law at the University of Dôle 1555–56, and briefly at the University of Besançon. *OER,* 2:11.

Eber, Paul (1511–69). German Lutheran supporter of Melanchthon. Professor at University of Wittenberg 1537–69, teaching Latin, arts, and philosophy at first, then Hebrew 1557–59, and theology after 1559. *OER,* 2:17; Friedensburg, 258–61; Kathe, 94–98, 458, 461, 465.

Episcopius, Simon (1583–1634). Dutch Calvinist Remonstrant theologian. Professor of theology at University of Leiden 1612–20. His views generated great opposition and he was banished. *OER,* 2:54–55.

Flacius Illyricus, Matthias (1520–75). Croatian-born Lutheran theologian and church historian. Professor of Hebrew at University of Wittenberg from 1544 until 1549, when differences with Melanchthon caused him to leave. Professor of theology at the University of Jena from 1550 until 1561, when he was deprived of his professorship because of his adherence to the Gnesio-Lutheran position and loss of support of Elector Johann Friedrich II of Ernestine Saxony. *OER,* 2:110–11; Seeber, 1:38–43, 54; Olson.

Fontanus, Johannes (1545–1615). Dutch Calvinist minister who taught at several Calvinist schools and in 1600 helped found a school at Hardewijk which became a university in 1647–48. *OER,* 2:116–17.

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Foxe, Edward (1496?–1538). Architect of Henry VIII's propaganda campaign for divorce and co-drafter of Anglican confessional statements. Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 1528 to death. *OER,* 2:121–22.

Foxe, John (1517–87). English Protestant church historian and martyrologist. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1538 to 1545, when forced to resign. *OER,* 2:122–23.

Gomarus, Franciscus (1563–1641). Dutch Calvinist minister and predestinarian theologian. Professor of theology at University of Leiden 1594–1611, at Calvinist seminary in Saumur, France, 1614–18, and at the University of Groningen 1618–41. *OER,* 2:181–82; Huisman, 322; van der Ven, 243, 246, 257, 258.

Gribaldi, Matteo (ca. 1500–64). Italian legal scholar and Unitarian. Taught law at the Catholic universities of Toulouse 1535–36, Cahors at unknown dates, Perugia perhaps in 1540, Valence 1540–41, Grenoble 1543–45, and Padua 1548–55. He then taught at the Lutheran University of Tübingen 1555–57, but lost his position for his religious views. He taught at the Catholic University of Grenoble in 1559–60, but again lost his position for his religious views. *OER,* 2:194–95; Grendler, 2002, 187–88.

Grynaeus, Johann Jacob (1540–1617). Swiss Reformed theologian. Professor of Old Testament at University of Basel 1575–84; oversaw reorganization of University of Heidelberg 1584–86; professor of New Testament at University of Basel 1586 until death. *OER,* 2:199–200.

Grynaeus, Simon (1493–1543). German humanist and leader of the Reformed church in Basel. Professor of Greek at the University of Basel 1526–36; lectured on the New Testament 1536–43; rector of the university in 1543. *OER,* 2:200–01.

Hedio, Caspar (1494/95–1552). German Protestant preacher, translator, and educational reformer at Strasbourg. He helped organize the Strasbourg Gymnasium and was a school inspector from 1526 until death. *OER,* 2:215–16; *Contemporaries of Erasmus,* 2:169–70.

Hemmingsen, Niels (1513–1602). Danish Lutheran theologian who eventually became a Calvinist. Most important Scandinavian Protestant theologian. Professor of dialectics and exegesis at the University of Copenhagen 1545–53, then professor of theology until dismissed in 1579 for Calvinist views. *OER,* 2:222–23; Lyby and Grell, 117, 119–22, 125, 130.

Hesshus, Tilemann (1527–88). German Gnesio-Lutheran theologian involved in several controversies. Professor of rhetoric and dogmatics at the University of Wittenberg 1550–53, professor of theology at the University of Rostock in 1556 but expelled in 1557; professor of theology at the University of Jena 1568–73 and University of Helmstedt 1577–88. *OER,* 2:237; Olechnowitz, 1:32, 34; Seeber, 43–44.

Hessius, Eobanus (1488–1540). German Lutheran humanist and poet. Professor of Latin at the University of Erfurt 1517–26; taught at Egidien-Gymnasium, founded by Melanchthon, in Nuremberg 1526–32; professor of classical studies at University of Erfurt 1533–36; professor of poetry and oratory at University of Marburg 1536–40; university rector in 1538. *OER,* 2:238; *Contemporaries of Erasmus,* 1:434–36; *Catalogus Professorum,* 311–12.

Hotman, François (1524–90). French Protestant legal scholar. Taught law or liberal arts at the universities of Valence and Bourges and Protestant academies of Strasbourg, Lausanne, and at Geneva 1572–78. *OER,* 2:256–58; Maag, 196.

Hunnius, Aegidius (1550–1603). German theologian who followed Luther's positions closely. Professor of theology at the universities of Marburg 1576–92 and Wittenberg 1592–1603. *OER,* 2:276; Friedensburg, 398–99, 404; *Catalogus Professorum,* 10–11.

Hyperius, Andreas (1511–64). Dutch Protestant theologian whose positions combined Lutheran, Calvinist, and Erasmian views. Professor of theology at University of Marburg 1541–64. *OER,* 2:299–300; *Catalogus Professorum,* 7.

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Jonas, Justus (1493–1555). German Lutheran church administrator, biblical scholar, and friend of Luther. May have lectured on canon law at the University of Wittenberg 1521–23; prior of the Castle Church in Wittenberg and lecturer on Old and New Testament 1523–41. Dean of the faculty of theology 1523–25, perhaps longer, and rector of the university in 1531 and 1536. *OER,* 2:352–53; *Contemporaries of Erasmus,* 2:244–46; Friedensburg, 144–46, 194–96.

Junius, Franciscus (1545–1602). French Calvinist theologian and biblical translator in the Netherlands. Taught theology and Hebrew at Neustadt Academy 1578–84; professor of dogmatic theology at the University of Heidelberg 1584–89 and Old Testament 1589–92; professor of theology at University of Leiden 1592–1602. *OER,* 2:360; Drüll, 344–45; De Jonge.

Krafft, Adam (1493–1558). German Lutheran theologian and church administrator. Professor of theology at University of Marburg 1527–58; dean of faculty of theology 1536, rector of the university 1529, 1540, 1553. *OER,* 2:382; *Catalogus Professorum,* 4.

La Faye, Antoine de (1540–1615). French Calvinist theologian. Professor of theology at Geneva Academy 1581–1610; named supreme doctor of theology and Bèze's successor in 1600. *OER,* 2:383.

Lambert, François (1487–1530). French by birth, he held both Lutheran and Zwinglian views and wrote many biblical commentaries. He studied and lectured at the University of Wittenberg 1522–24, and was professor of theology at the University of Marburg 1527–30. *OER,* 2:387; *Catalogus Professorum,* 5.

Latimer, Hugh (ca. 1485–1555). Church of England preacher and bishop. Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and teacher from 1510 to about 1530. *OER,* 2:399–400; Leader, 322–29, 342.

Linck, Wenceslaus (1482–1547). German Lutheran theologian, friend of Luther, preacher, and church organizer at Nuremberg. Professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg 1511–22 and dean of the faculty of theology in 1512–13. *OER,* 2:425; Friedensburg, 49.

Lubbertus, Sibrandus (ca. 1555–1625). Frisian orthodox Calvinist and author of theological polemics. Professor of theology at the University of Franeker 1585–1625. *OER,* 2:455–56; Ekkart, 39.

Lüber (Erastus), Thomas (1524–83). Swiss Reformed theologian, controversialist, and advocate of state authority over church (Erastianism). Professor of medicine at the University of Heidelberg 1558–80 although banned 1572–76. Helped revise university statutes in 1558 and 1559. Lost Heidelberg professorship in 1580 for failure to subscribe to Lutheran Formula of Concord. Professor of medicine at the University of Basel 1580–83 and moral philosophy in 1583. *OER,* 2:456–57; Wolgast, 41, 43–45; Maag, 155, 158, 159; Drüll, 141–42.

Luther, Martin (1483–1546). German leader of the Lutheran Reformation. Lecturer on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics,* 1508–09, and professor of biblical studies from the winter of 1513–14 until death at the University of Wittenberg.

Lydius, Martinus (ca. 1539–1601). Dutch Calvinist minister and theologian. Professor of theology at University of Franeker 1585–1601. *OER,* 2:477–78; Ekkart, 40–42.

Major, George (1502–74). German Lutheran theologian. Professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg 1545–74, with interruptions. Leader of Wittenberg faculty from 1560. Central figure in the Majorist Controversy over the efficacy of good works. *OER,* 2:501–02; *OER,* 3:257–58; Friedensburg, 197–99, 257–58.

Marbach, Johannes (1521–81). German-born Lutheran theologian and controversialist. Pastor in Strasbourg and professor of theology at the Strasbourg Academy from 1545. President of the Company of Pastors from 1552 and school visitor from 1556. Differed

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with Johann Sturm over governance and theology in the Academy. *OER,* 3:1–2; *OER,* 4:116–17; Spitz and Tinsley, 32–40, 376 et passim.

Melanchthon, Philipp (1497–1560). German Lutheran humanist, theologian, and educational reformer. Came to the University of Wittenberg as professor of Greek in 1518 and remained for the rest of his life. He also taught ethics, geography, history, Hebrew, logic, and theology. From 1527 Melanchthon had the right to lecture on any subject. He drafted new statutes for the faculty of theology in 1533, and for theology and arts in 1545, advised other universities and schools, and wrote textbooks. *OER,* 3:41–45; Friedensburg, ab indice; Kathe, ab indice.

Melville, Andrew (1545–1622). Scottish presbyterian churchman and educational reformer. Principal of University of Glasgow and reformer of the curriculum along humanist and presbyterian lines 1574–80; head of St. Mary's College, a divinity school, at University of St. Andrews 1580–1607. *OER,* 3:49.

Münster, Sebastian (1480–1553). German Protestant Hebraist and biblical scholar. Professor of Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg 1524–29; professor of Hebrew and theology at the University of Basel 1529–53. *OER,* 3:99; Drüll, 397–99.

Musculus, Andreas (1514–81). German Lutheran theologian. Co-drafter of the Formula of Concord of 1577 and leader of the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg. Professor of theology at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder 1542–81. *OER,* 3:103; Nischan, 35, 37–39, 41, 44, 49, 128.

Myconius, Oswald (1488–1552). Swiss follower of Zwingli. Professor of theology at the University of Basel 1532–52. *OER,* 3:118.

Oecolampadius, Johannes (1482–1531). Swiss Protestant, leader of the Reformation at Basel. Taught arts at the University of Heidelberg in 1505 and may have taught Greek there in 1514; professor of biblical studies at the University of Basel 1523–31. *OER,* 3:169–71; Drüll, 420–21.

Oldendorp, Johannes (1480/90–1567). German Protestant jurist. Taught at the University of Greifswald 1517–20, at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder in 1520, at Greifswald 1521–26. Helped introduce the Reformation in Rostock 1526–34; taught at the Catholic University of Cologne from 1538 until forced to leave in 1543; professor of civil law at the Lutheran University of Marburg 1543–67, plus deacon of faculty of law and rector several times; helped to draft new university statutes of 1560. *OER,* 3:173–74; *Catalogus Professorum,* 78–79.

Osiander, Andreas (1496?–1552). German Lutheran theologian. Leader of the Reformation at Nuremberg and drafter of Lutheran church ordinances elsewhere. Professor of theology at the University of Königsberg 1548–52, where he engaged in polemics with his colleagues. *OER,* 3:183–85.

Osiander, Lucas II (1571–1638). Orthodox Lutheran theologian and polemicist. Professor of theology at the University of Tübingen 1619–38; chancellor and provost 1620–38. *OER,* 3:185.

Pappus, Johann (1549–1610). German Lutheran minister and church organizer. Professor of Hebrew at Strasbourg Academy 1564–74 and theology 1574–81; leader of the Strasbourg Company of Pastors 1581–1610. Disputed with Johann Sturm, rector of the Strasbourg Academy, concerning the school's authority over the theologians in the Academy. *OER,* 3:210–11; Kittelson, 1992.

Parker, Matthew (1504–75). English Anglican churchman and archbishop of Canterbury 1559–75. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, master from 1544, then vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1545 and 1548. Lost offices when Mary Tudor came to throne. *OER,* 3:215–16.

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Pellikan, Konrad (1478–1556). Alsatian Protestant theologian, biblical scholar, and Hebraist. Professor of theology at the University of Basel 1523–26; professor of Old Testament at Zurich Academy 1526–56. *OER,* 3:241–42.

Peucer, Caspar (1525–1602). German Philippist Lutheran theologian and physician. Melanchthon's son-in-law. Professor of geography 1545–60, mathematics 1554–60, medicine 1560–74, and university rector 1560, at the University of Wittenberg. Lost professorship when imprisoned 1574 to 1586 on suspicion of being a crypto-Calvinist. *OER,* 3:251–52; Friedensburg, 275–77, 290–92, 296–98; Kathe, 458, 464 et passim.

Přáza, Paul (ca. 1540–86). Czech Protestant theologian and humanist; coauthor of Bohemian Confession of 1575. Taught Hebrew at University of Prague 1568–71, philosophy 1575–77, was dean of the philosophy faculty 1575–76. *OER,* 3:322.

Ridley, Nicholas (1502?–55). English Anglican theologian and bishop of Rochester and London. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1520s; returned to Cambridge in 1530s; professor of Greek 1535–38. Appointed master of Pembroke Hall in 1540, although not resident. *OER,* 3:431–32; Leader, 300–01, 337.

Schegk, Jacob (1511–87). German Lutheran philosopher, medical scholar, and theological controversialist. Professor of logic and natural philosophy 1531–53, of logic 1564–78, professor of medicine possibly 1553–77, always at the University of Tübingen. Rector several times. *OER,* 4:2; Lohr, 718–20; Mobley, 218–19.

Schnepf, Erhard (1495–1558). German Lutheran churchman and theologian who organized the Reformation in Württemberg. Professor of theology at University of Marburg 1527–34; professor of theology at University of Tübingen 1544–48; forced out because of his opposition to the Interim. Professor of Hebrew at University of Jena 1549–58. *OER,* 4:16–17; *Catalogus Professorum,* 4–5; Seeber, 1:39, 53–54.

Selnecker, Nikolaus (1530–92). German Lutheran theologian and co-drafter of the Formula of Concord of 1577. Professor of theology at University of Jena 1565–68; forced out by the Gnesio-Lutheran ruler. Professor of theology at University of Leipzig 1568–86. Forced out when Albertine Saxony turned toward Calvinism but called back in 1591. *OER,* 4:42; Wartenberg, 66, 70–71; Seeber, 1:42–43.

Snecanus, Gellius (1540–96?). Dutch Calvinist minister and theologian. Played key role in founding of the University of Franeker in 1585. *OER,* 4:70.

Stanšič Horváth de Gradecz, Gregor (1558–97). Slovak Lutheran theologian and educator. Founder in 1588 and teacher of dialectics, rhetoric, and ethics, at the Lutheran secondary school in Stážky, Slovakia. *OER,* 4:108.

Stöckel, Leonard (1510–60). Leading Lutheran theologian and pedagogue in Hungary and Slovakia. Taught at the Lutheran school in Bardejov from 1539 to 1560. *OER,* 4:113–14.

Strigel, Viktorin (1524–69). German Philippist Lutheran theologian and controversialist. Professor of philosophy at Jena 1548–62, with Jena becoming a university in 1558. When the ruler asked the faculty to draft a doctrinal statement, Strigel and Matthias Flacius Illyricus strongly disagreed about its content, with Flacius prevailing. Strigel refused to sign the statement and was either imprisoned or placed under house arrest for several months in 1559. Professor of philosophy and theology at University of Leipzig from 1563 until suspended in 1567 on suspicion of holding Calvinist views. Professor of ethics and history at University of Heidelberg, then Calvinist, from 1567 until death. *OER,* 4:119–20; Seeber, 1:31, 36–42, 48, 53; Drüll, 523–25.

Sturm, Johann (1507–89). Protestant educator and diplomat. Rector of the Strasbourg gymnasium from 1538 and the Strasbourg Academy from 1566 until dismissed in 1581. *OER,* 4:122–23; Spitz and Tinsley.

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Tausen, Hans (1494–1561). Leading Danish Lutheran theologian and bishop. Professor of Hebrew at University of Copenhagen 1537–38. *OER,* 4:145–46; Dunkley, 43–44, 117–31 et passim; *Scandinavian Reformation,* ab indice.

Toussain, Daniel (1541–1602). Swiss Calvinist pastor and theologian. Court preacher and school inspector at Heidelberg. Professor of Hebrew at University of Orléans 1560–62; professor of New Testament at the University of Heidelberg 1586–1601; rector, vice-rector and dean of faculty of theology several times. *OER,* 4:164–65; Drüll, 530–31.

Triglandus, Jacobus (1583–1654). Dutch Calvinist minister, theologian, and historian of the Reformation in the Netherlands. Professor of theology at the University of Leiden 1634–54. *OER,* 4:178.

Trotzendorf, Valentin (1490–1556). German Lutheran pedagogue. Taught at Zlotoryja (Goldberg) 1523–25, Liegnitz 1525–29, and Zlotoryja again from 1531 until death. *OER,* 4:179–80.

Ursinus, Zacharias (1534–83). German Calvinist theologian, principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563. Studied at University of Wittenberg 1550–57; professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg 1562–67 during a Calvinist phase. Taught at Lausanne Academy 1571–77 and at Neustadt in 1578. *OER,* 4:202–03; *OER,* 2:216–17; Visser; Drüll, 536–38.

Valera, Cipriano de (1532?–1603?). Spanish Calvinist theologian, polemicist, and translator of Calvin's works into Spanish. Fellow and theology teacher at Magdalen College, Oxford, ca. 1560–68. One of several continental scholars brought in to strengthen Protestant influence at Oxford. *OER,* 4:214.

Vermigli, Peter Martyr (1499–1562). Italian Protestant theologian with great influence on the Church of England. Professor of theology at Strasbourg Academy 1542–47; regius professor of theology at Christ Church, Oxford, 1548–53; professor of theology at Strasbourg Academy 1553–56; then professor of Hebrew at Zurich Academy 1556–62. *OER,* 4:229–31; *The Collegiate University,* 353, 369–74 et ab indice.

Vossius, Gerardus Joannes (1577–1649). Dutch humanist and ecclesiastical historian. Professor of rhetoric and history at University of Leiden 1622–49. *OER,* 4:250–51.

Whitaker, William (1548–95). Puritan theologian and anti-papal polemicist. Regius professor of theology at University of Cambridge 1580–95, elected master of Saint John's College in 1586. *OER,* 4:269.

Whitgift, John (ca. 1530–1604). Anglican theologian and bishop. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1555; Lady Margaret professor of divinity 1563–67, regius professor of theology 1567–77. Archbishop of Canterbury 1583 to death. *OER,* 4:270–71.

Wigand, Johann (1523–87). German Lutheran theologian and bishop. Professor of theology at University of Jena 1560–61, where he supported Gnesio-Lutheran position against Philippists; left under pressure from the court. Again professor of theology at the University of Jena 1568–73 but forced out again. Professor of theology at the University of Königsberg 1573–75. *OER,* 4:272–73; Seeber, 1:40–41,43–44; Diener.

Zanchi, Girolamo (1516–90). Italian Calvinist theologian and father of Protestant Scholasticism. Professor of theology and Aristotelian philosophy at Strasbourg Academy 1553–63. Left Strasbourg after controversy with Johannes Marbach over the Lord's Supper. Professor of theology at the University of Heidelberg 1568–77. Forced out when Heidelberg became Lutheran. Professor of New Testament at the Neustadt Academy 1578–83. *OER,* 4:305–06; Drüll, 564–65.

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